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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

VOL. I.

LAKE GEORGE

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OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.

THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA;

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THEIR HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD;

THEIR INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, BANKING TRANSACTIONS, AND NATIONAL WORKS; THEIR INSTITUTIONS AND CHARACTER, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY

WITH

A SURVEY OF THE TERRITORY, AND REMARKS ON THE PROSPECTS AND PLANS OF EMIGRANTS.

BY HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY,

BY JAMES NICOL.

PORTRAITS AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS BY JACKSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

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PREFACE.

THE UNITED STATES, next to our own country, form the most interesting portion of the world to the British people. Besides the ties of a common origin and language, the most substantial interests of the two nations are intimately twined together, and a close and constant intercourse is maintained between them. The peculiar institutions of the transatlantic republic—social, political, and religious—are viewed by thinking observers as sources whence valuable lessons may be derived on questions of government and national economy; while its gigantic progress and the vast natural capacities of its territory open a prospect to which there is scarcely any limit.

To satisfy the interest attached to this subject in the public mind, there appeared room for a work, comprising, within a moderate compass, a complete and connected view of the origin, history, and successive revolutions of the United States; their industry and commerce; their political, social, and intellectual condition. Such an undertaking seemed altogether suited to the EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY, and likely

to form the most important portion of that series; hence no effort has been spared to render the present work complete and satisfactory. There has indeed been devoted to it a degree of research not usual in works of so popular a character. For the historical department, access has been obtained to cotemporary materials which escaped the inquiries of Chalmers and Grahame, and were inaccessible to the still more diligent researches of Mr Bancroft. In the survey of existing objects and institutions, while due attention was paid to the able relations of British travellers, the best native works have been procured and studiously consulted. Efforts have thus been made to escape the charge—not always perhaps unfounded—that British representations of America have been drawn only from the passing and perhaps prejudiced remarks of foreign observers.

The *First Volume* comprises the origin of the settlements, and their history down to the declaration of independence in 1776. After the eventful and tragical expeditions of the Spaniards and French, it relates the planting of the successive colonies sent out from Britain; their various fortune and critical adventures; their Indian wars, and gradual rise into great nations. A diligent inquiry into early authorities, particularly in the rich collection of pamphlets presented by George III. to the British Museum, has, it is hoped, enabled the Author to afford much new information, and to correct material errors respecting the early career of the Colonies. Even the history of the Revolution, though often already treated, will be found to have received some important amendments and elucidations.

In the *Second Volume*, the history of the States as an independent republic is carried on to the close of the last war with Great Britain. Important lights have been derived from the copious collection of official documents published by Congress, as well as those edited by Mr Sparks and other American writers. A full account is then given of the plan, establishment, and working of that remarkable constitution by which the country is governed. The statements of Story, Kent, De Tocqueville, and various intelligent travellers, have been diligently collated, with the view of forming a correct and impartial estimate. A very copious exhibition is next made of the different branches of American industry, particularly commerce, domestic and foreign; also of the rise and extension of the present extraordinary system of canals and railways. Full illustrations are given of the banking operations, which have undergone vicissitudes so striking and so deeply affecting British interests.

In the *Third Volume*, attention is directed to the American social system, including the state of slavery and the arrangements for religious instruction. This branch labours assuredly under no defect of materials, but is rather "dark with excessive bright." Various able British writers have largely contributed to it; yet some, without intending to mislead, have been influenced by national and political prepossessions. Our best efforts have been put forth to draw, from a comparison of conflicting statements, sound conclusions on this delicate subject. A long chapter is next devoted to American literature, which will, it is hoped, be found

tolerably comprehensive, and to include particulars and specimens not generally known to British readers. A general view is then given, from authentic sources, of the physical character of the region—its geology, zoology, and botany. A topographical sketch is added of its various districts, including descriptive accounts of the principal cities; and the country is particularly considered with reference to the prospects and plans of British emigrants. The volume concludes with an historical sketch of recent events, brought down to the latest period.

The work is illustrated by portraits and other engravings, several of which are from rare originals.

EDINBURGH, *4th January* 1844.

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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

General Outline and First Discovery.

Climate—Boundaries—Extent—Three natural Divisions—The Eastern—Alleghany Mountains—Scenery—Rivers—Various Degrees of Fertility—Western Territory—Rivers—Surface and Productions—Region beyond Mississippi—Rocky Mountains—Rivers—Character of the Country—First Discovery by Cabot.

THAT vast region which forms the domain of the United States comprises by much the largest and most valuable portion of the temperate zone of America. The more northern regions border upon sterility and desolation; while the southern, amid the splendour derived from luxuriant fertility and mineral treasures, labour under a climate unfriendly to the feelings and health of Europeans. This territory, extending over twenty-seven degrees of latitude, includes situations fitted for the productions, not only of temperate, but also of arctic and even of tropical climates; while it is exempted from most of the evils incidental to these last.

It is not proposed here to trace more than a general outline, preparatory to the subsequent account of this

remarkable commonwealth; reserving for a subsequent part of the work a more detailed account of the geographical and physical characters of the country.

Its boundary on the east is the Atlantic coast, extending almost due south-south-west, from the river St Croix on the border of New Brunswick, to Cape Tancha, the remotest point in Florida. On the south it has the Gulf of Mexico, as far west as the river Sabine, which separates it from Texas; while on the north, a varying frontier divides it from British America. Between the St Croix and the Connecticut there is a wide tract, which, owing to the vague terms of the treaty of 1783, remains still in dispute between the two nations. From the head of the latter, the march runs in a straight course towards the St Lawrence, which it touches at St Regis, about sixty miles above Montreal. Thence the line is drawn through the middle of that river, and of the successive great lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, from which last it runs to the Lake of the Woods, and then along the 49th degree of north latitude towards the Pacific; but its final termination, amid unoccupied regions, is still involved in some controversy. The western boundary presents yet greater difficulties, the very principles on which it should be determined being still undecided. American writers generally extend it to the ocean; yet the country bordering on it is admitted by themselves to be nearly a Terra Incognita; and under present circumstances, the Rocky Mountains appear the very farthest limit that can be admitted. Even it comprises immense tracts without a single abode tenanted by their citizens; and the 96th degree of longitude probably includes the whole range of actual inhabitation, with even many unoccupied intervals.

The area of the United States territory, taken in its widest sense, as extending to the Pacific, is estimated by Mr Darby at 2,257,374 square miles.* Within the

* View of the United States, Historical, Geographical, and Statistical. By William Darby. 18mo, Philadelphia, 1828, p. 57.

more limited range of the Rocky Mountains, he has formed with seeming care the following estimate:—

	Sq. Miles.
Basins of the Atlantic slope	251,250
... of the Lakes	110,500
... of the Mississippi	1,099,000
... of the Gulf of Mexico	144,240
	1,604,990*

If we take the area already formed into states, which includes nearly all of any value that is actually possessed, we shall find it not to exceed the following:—

	Sq. Miles.
Maine	32,194
New Hampshire	8,700
Vermont	9,380
Massachusetts	7,335
Connecticut	5,050
Rhode Island	1,200
New York	46,500
Pennsylvania	47,000
New Jersey	7,870
Delaware	2,100
Maryland	10,000
Columbia district	100
Virginia	66,000
North Carolina	50,000
South Carolina	33,000
Georgia	61,000
Alabama	51,770
Louisiana	48,220
Mississippi	51,000
Tennessee	43,265
Kentucky	37,680
Ohio	40,000
Indiana	34,000
Illinois	58,900
Michigan	34,000†
Missouri	63,000
Arkansas	121,340
	970,604‡

* Ibid. pp. 254-256, 295-297.

† There has been connected with this state, for temporary purposes, a region improperly called the North-west Territory, which contains 140,000 square miles.

‡ Collected from various places in Darby.

This region is divided by nature into three grand belts.

1. That between the Atlantic and the Alleghany Mountains.

2. That between these mountains and the Mississippi.

3. That west of the Mississippi.

The *first* is distinguished by the conspicuous features of ocean on one side and mountains on the other. The coast, as already observed, stretches in an almost continuous line south-south-west, from its northern point to Florida, through fifteen degrees of latitude. Though so uniform in its general direction, it is broken in its centre by two very deep inlets, the Chesapeake and Delaware. In New England, it is variegated by the winding peninsula of Cape Cod; in New York, by Long Island and its sounds. Southward, the outline is much more entire; so that the principal harbours there are formed only by the outlets of great rivers.

The Alleghany Mountains, the opposite boundary of this range, extend in a line similarly continuous, yet not exactly parallel. Their direction, instead of south-south-west, is almost due south-west. Hence, while, at the northern point, they present their cliffs to the waves of the ocean, their southern portion recedes always farther into the interior, leaving at last an intervening plain of 200 or 300 miles in extent. Yet it is curious, that the general height of the land which divides the river-courses does not coincide with their direction, but is nearly parallel to the Atlantic coast. Thus the more northerly streams rise on the western side of the mountains, and find or form a passage through their rocky recesses.*

It is however in this northern part that the Alleghany reaches its highest elevation. The leading groups bear local names, the principal being the White Mountains in Hampshire, the Green Mountains in Vermont, and the Catskill in the back territory of New York. Mount Washington in the first is estimated, by Captain Partridge, at 6600 feet; Keldington Peak, in the

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* Darby, pp. 64, 65.

second, at 3924; and Round Top, in the third, at 3804. The southern range, beyond the Hudson, is decidedly lower, its highest pinnacle being considered by the same observer as not exceeding 3000 feet. The best known part is that behind Virginia, named the Blue Ridge; yet its highest point is stated at only 1908 feet.* The loftier portion in the north is composed chiefly of primitive rocks, and contains vast stores of iron, with valuable marbles; while the more remote hills towards the south are almost entirely limestone, and the Pennsylvanian part contains an extensive deposit of anthracite or bituminous coal.† In Carolina and Georgia there are gold mines of considerable value.

The mountains, thus pervading the territory of the United States, place within view of its people a great variety of noble and beautiful scenery. Without indeed rivalling the stupendous grandeur of the Alps, the Andes, or the Himmaleh, they perhaps equal in this respect any chains of secondary magnitude. The northern ridges, covered with immense forests, present scenes of savage grandeur, rising to sublimity. Mount Washington, for the greater part of its acclivity, is clothed with woods, above which rises a naked and rocky summit, commanding a prospect of immense extent and magnificence.‡ A chasm in the White Mountains, called the Notch, is described by Dwight as an object almost unique, the masses of granite towering up on each side in the most abrupt and picturesque forms; while a beautiful cascade, from a height of 800 feet, pours down a stream of burnished silver.§ These elevations are said to enclose many picturesque lakes; but this feature occurs on a great scale only in those named George and Champlain, near the borders of

* Silliman's Journal.

† Travels in New England and New York. By Timothy Dwight, S. T. D., LL. D., 4 vols 8vo, Lond. 1834, vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

‡ Silliman's Journal.

§ Dwight, vol. ii. pp. 134, 135, 281.

Canada. The former, with its lofty mountains, varied shores, and numerous islands, is considered as constituting the finest object in any part of the States.* The southern hills, though on a smaller scale, exhibit on their steep and rocky sides many very striking aspects. Such in Virginia is the natural bridge, a mass of rock thrown over a cleft two miles long, and above 200 feet deep, with walls so perpendicular, that from the parapet a plummet may be let fall to the bottom. Amid these lower groups, too, the luxuriance of vegetation, the limpid streams dancing in serpentine courses, or through the finest trees, shrubs, wild roses, and vines, with the carpet of moss and creeping plants, make the whole country resemble a delicious garden.†

The rivers of this country cannot attain a first rate magnitude, since, even when they rise beyond the Alleghany, it is from land little more than 200 miles distant; yet they roll down abundant streams, and form at their estuaries fine bays, with excellent harbours. The northern states are in this respect peculiarly favoured. Maine is watered by the Penobscot and Kennebec, ample currents, navigable respectively to the extent of sixty and forty miles; but the numerous islands at their mouths create serious obstacles. In New Hampshire the small Piscataqua expands into the convenient harbour of Portsmouth; and the Merrimac, much larger, has become navigable to Concord, nearly a hundred miles from the sea. Massachusetts has no river which runs more than twelve miles; though the deep bay on which are situated Boston, Salem, and other excellent ports, affords vast commercial advantages. The Connecticut, in a long course from the frontier of Canada, waters a beautiful and fertile valley, forming the state bearing its name. But all the northern rivers are surpassed in im-

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Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 336, 337. Travels in America, in the years 1827 and 1828. By Captain Basil Hall, 3 vols 12mo, Edin. 1829, vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.

† Trollope (Mrs), Domestic Manners of the Americans, 2 vols 12mo, Lond. 1832, vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

portance by the Hudson, from being navigable for large vessels up to Albany; from having its source in the western valley on a level with the lakes; and on account of the islands which enclose the noble roadstead and harbour of New York.*

From the northern mountains also descend two important streams, the Delaware and Susquehanna; the first falling into the great bay bearing its name, the other into the still more spacious one of the Chesapeake. This last receives from the west the broader Potomac, fed by numerous tributaries from the lower range of the Blue Mountains. It passes Washington, the capital, to which ships of the largest burden can ascend. Lower down, the James terminates in the same bay, after running through the fine vales of Virginia, with a navigable channel of 320 miles.†

The more southerly rivers rise from the same ridge, and traverse a plain of considerable breadth, so that they have generally an unbroken course. Parting, however, into alluvial branches, they are extremely shallow, with bars at their mouths, and thus of inferior value for commerce. The Roanoke, though running not less than 310 miles, is only navigable for sloops one-fifth of its extent. Cape Fear river is smaller, but rendered important by the emporia of Wilmington and Fayetteville. The Pedee and Santee, with several large tributaries, roll a long current through the interior, but have very obstructed communications with the sea. The Ashley and Cooper unite in forming at Charleston the best harbour upon this coast. St Helena Sound has an entrance eight miles wide, receiving the North and South Edisto and the Combahee, yet without a depth of water sufficient for commercial purposes. The Savannah, descending from elevated sources contiguous to those of the Tennessee, enjoys a direct channel navigable all the way to the sea, with seventeen feet at its bar, forming the

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* Darby, pp. 188, 189, 183, 184, 177, 161, 135-153.
† Ibid. p. 123-125, 110, 107.

valuable port bearing its name. Farther south run the nearly parallel streams of the Ogeechee, the Alatamaha; then the St Mary's, with a spacious opening and twenty feet water over the bar; but in the present state of the country none of these rivers are of much importance.*

The fertility of this long belt varies greatly with temperature and situation. The New England States, in a colder climate, and traversed by primitive chains, have a rugged surface, better fitted for pasturage than agriculture, and scarcely suited for any grain, except maize or oats. The people, who depend chiefly upon timber, fishery, and commerce, through their persevering industry soon placed themselves in advance of the rest of the union. New York and Pennsylvania have tracts well adapted for wheat and other valuable grains; yet much of their soil, too, is unproductive. Virginia and Maryland are more highly favoured, having fine plains nobly watered, and yielding excellent corn, with the valuable addition of tobacco. The Carolinas and Georgia have a still wider surface, and noble rivers; but, owing to the very uniform level, are in many parts arid, and in some swampy. The climate, though rather too hot for grain, is well fitted for rice and cotton. Florida is still in a very rude state.

We now turn to the western belt, between the Alleghany and the Mississippi, which wears an extremely different aspect. This mighty stream, rising nearly in the northern frontier, traverses the whole in an almost uniform course southward to the Gulf of Mexico. This direction, combined with that of the Alleghany to the south-west, causes an arrangement of surface directly the reverse of that which obtains in the eastern states. Here the principal plain, and one remarkably spacious, lies in the north, forming the fruitful states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Its distinctive character indeed is derived from its rivers. The Ohio, with its tributaries the Wabash from the north, the Cumberland

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* Darby, p. 89-101.

and Tennessee from the south, forms one of the noblest basins on the face of the earth. Farther north, too, is a valuable plain traversed by the Illinois. South of Tennessee the mountains approach the river and narrow greatly the intervening valley; but they terminate soon after, leaving on the south the states of Mississippi and Alabama, flat and swampy, but rich in tropical productions, particularly cotton.

This belt, though not quite so fertile as is sometimes represented, rivals in that respect any region on the globe.* It has, indeed, a surface of a somewhat peculiar character. Forests very generally clothe the uncultivated tracts of the western world; but those of America are said to display a grandeur of form and size, a magnificent prodigality of growth, and a depth of verdure not elsewhere seen. The trees in many instances rise to a stupendous height, like columns, not spreading out into branches, but having their trunks clothed with a rich drapery of ivy, vines, and other creepers. Underwood is generally wanting; yet certain moist tracts are crowded with a particularly dense species called cane brakes, almost impenetrable to man, and the retreat of bears and panthers. When the forests are cut down, the soil proves most fruitful in every species of produce. The gay name of prairies was given by the French to a particular tract, bearing some analogy to the steppes of Asia and the llanos of the Orinoco. Abounding in springs, they are too wet to admit of the growth of trees, but are overspread with long thick grass, mingled with numberless flowering shrubs of the most delicate scents and hues. Where not excessively moist, they can without much toil be reclaimed, and converted into good pasturage, or even cornfields. The barrens scarcely deserve such an appellation, being esteemed of second or third rate fertility. Undulating ground, with low hills of peculiar form, is here thinly sprinkled with trees, but covered with rank grass, through which a rill of muddy water sluggishly

* Darby, p. 298, &c.

meanders. Though of very uninviting aspect, they can, without much difficulty, be made into good feeding-land for the larger species of cattle. The name of *bottoms* is given to the alluvial margins, partially inundated, of the great rivers, especially the Mississippi. The soil here, at once rich, loose, and friable, yields most luxuriant crops either of corn or grass; but the country is inconvenient and unhealthy. We may mention also, as diversifying the scenery, *salt licks;* for, from Onondaga in New York to Louisiana, it is impossible to dig to any depth into the earth without finding water impregnated with that mineral. In a thousand places it bubbles up in springs, which, even in dreary wastes, produce a circle of brilliant verdure. Such spots are haunted by the bison, the elk, and other wild animals, which crop the grass and lick with delight the saline particles.*

The third belt is of much greater extent, and all its features present themselves on a still grander scale. Westward from the Mississippi, a plain 700 or 800 miles in breadth stretches to the Rocky Mountains. That long continuous chain is decidedly the loftiest of any north of Mexico, having one peak estimated at 12,000 feet high. Thence flow across to the central trunk a series of tributary rivers, which in number and magnitude have scarcely a parallel on the globe. Missouri, the chief, from its springs on the very crest of the Rocky Mountains, has a course of about 3000 miles before its junction with the Mississippi. The latter, having at this point flowed only 1200, ought, it might be presumed, to yield its claim to be considered the main stream, especially as its waters then lose their transparency, and share the turbid character of the larger body with which they are united. There is a farther course of 1260 miles to the Gulf of Mexico, making, from the head of the Missouri, a line of not less than 4260. In its early progress it receives the Yellowstone

* Flint (Timothy), Geography of the Mississippi Valley, vol. i. p. 25-29.

Sebastian Cabot.

which has already flowed 1100 miles; the Platte, which has run 1000; and the Kansas after a course of 900. The united stream receives the Arkansas, 2000 miles long, and the Red River, 1500. It has been computed that the region between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains contains 23,000 miles of navigable waters; yet this vast belt is by no means equally valuable with those smaller ones previously described. The great rivers, no doubt, have verdant and fertile borders, but they soon pass into arid and naked plains, covered in some places with sands like those of Arabia.* The portion, however, extending nearly 200 miles westward of the Mississippi, shares in a good measure the fertility of the region on its eastern side. It has accordingly been occupied and formed into the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, with the recently settled territory of Iowa.

The coast of the United States, notwithstanding its proximity to Europe, was not the earliest discovered part of the New World. The course of Columbus led him to Guanahani, one of the eastern Bahamas, thence to Hispaniola, and in his subsequent researches, still farther towards the south and west. In 1497, John Cabot, from Bristol, arrived at Newfoundland, or more probably Labrador; but no intimation is afforded of his having sailed to any distance along the coast. In 1498, however, his son Sebastian, with two vessels, made a most extensive survey, beginning in the latitude of 56°, and terminating, it is said, in that of the Straits of Gibraltar, or about 36°. This must have brought him to the mouth of the Chesapeake, or even of Albemarle Sound; and it is impossible not to regret that no details should be extant of this memorable voyage. He soon after sought the service of the Spanish monarch, and was created a member of the council of the Indies. In 1517, he is again found employed, though only as second to Sir Thomas Pert, in an expedition from England, by

* Darby, p. 310-321.

which the exploration of Hudson's Bay was certainly effected, though not actively followed up. Returning to Spain, he was promoted to the rank of chief pilot of that kingdom, and sailing under its flag made the important discovery of the Rio de la Plata. Lastly, at an advanced age, being again in England, he was nominated grand pilot, and governor of the company of Merchant Adventurers, in which capacity he drew up instructions for Sir Hugh Willoughby's north-eastern expedition.* He appears to have ranked second to Columbus among the navigators of that age, superior in science, and rivalling him in enterprise, gallantry, and honourable feeling.

* Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX., Tytler's Northern Coasts of America, p. 26-32. A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, 8vo, Lond. 1836, pp. 25, 28, 32.

CHAPTER II.

Spanish Expeditions.

This Region not discovered by Columbus—Ponce de Leon reaches Florida—Other Expeditions—Narvaez undertakes to conquer the Country—His Contests with the Natives—Obliged to return to the Coast—His Party construct Vessels—Their Disastrous Wreck—Alvaro travels westward—Reaches Mexico—Fernando de Soto—Appointed Adelantado of Florida—Departure from Cadiz—Landing—Various Conflicts—Enters Georgia—Reaches the Gold Country in Carolina—Returns to the Coast—Battle of Mauvila—Marches into the Western Territory—Winters among the Chickasaws—Crosses the Mississippi—Obliged to return—Reaches the Mouth of the Red River—His Death—His Companions fail in proceeding by Land—Construct Vessels—Voyage down the Mississippi—Arrival in Mexico—Cancello.

SPAIN carried off the first and great prizes of transatlantic discovery. The wise or fortunate resolution of Isabella to patronise Columbus, conveyed to her a dominion over empires of almost boundless extent, and rich in those treasures which mankind most eagerly covet. That navigator, on first viewing the American coast at Guanahani, was not very distant from Florida; but the hope of a passage to the East Indies, and other circumstances, induced him to steer in a south and south-western direction. All the great islands of the archipelago had been discovered, the coast of Terra Firma examined, and Nunez de Balboa had obtained his celebrated prospect of the Pacific, before the Spaniards even suspected the existence of that vast region which now forms the United States. It was brought into view by accidental and somewhat singular incidents.

Juan Ponce de Leon, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Grenada, had embarked with Columbus in his second voyage. He then added greatly to his reputation, and being intrusted by Ovando, the governor, with a command in the eastern part of Hispaniola, had an opportunity of observing the rich aspect of the adjacent shores of Porto Rico. Having proposed to his superior officer to conquer it, he was allowed a body of troops to try his fortune. In this he completely succeeded, and obtained gold, not in the expected abundance, but to a considerable amount; being accused, however, of those cruelties which were much too familiar to the Spanish adventurers. His claims as governor being also considered as conflicting with those of Columbus, he withdrew, and obtained in compensation Bimini, one of the Bahamas which lay nearest to the continent.

Here an object very different from conquest or plunder engrossed the whole soul of the warlike veteran. In an age of comparative ignorance, and after witnessing so many wonders, his mind was prepared to credit almost any extravagance. Ponce de Leon had somehow imbibed the full belief, that on one of those insular shores there existed a fountain endued with such miraculous virtue, that any man, however worn out with age, who should have once dipped himself in its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigour of youth. In this delusive search, he beat about restlessly from shore to shore, landing at every point, and plunging into every stream, however shallow or muddy, in the vain hope of springing up in this blissful state of renovation. On the contrary, his eager and incessant activity under a burning sun, brought upon him, it is said, all the infirmities of a premature old age; and according to Oviedo, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a second childhood, never after displaying his former energy of thought or action.

Extraordinary exertions, even when misapplied, commonly lead to something. While the Spaniard was sailing in every direction after his miraculous fountain,

he came unexpectedly, on the 27th March 1512, in sight of an extensive country, hitherto unknown. Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th April near the present site of St Augustine; and notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important.

This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer and rule it under the pompous title of adelantado. A considerable time, however, was consumed in preparations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large body of Indians; his men were completely routed, and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with Spanish troops, this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.*

The fate of Ponce de Leon for a considerable time discouraged all such adventurers. The coast was, however, visited by individual merchants; and Diego Miruelo is said to have made repeated voyages from Cuba, ob-

* Herrera, dec. i. lib. ix. c. x.-xii. Oviedo ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. pp. 146, 147. A History of the United States, by George Bancroft, 3 vols. 8vo, Boston, 1834, 1837, 1841, vol. i. p. 36-39.

taining, among other commodities, some gold, which confirmed the delusive ideas entertained of its wealth. Fernandez, Grijalva, and Garay made surveys of some extent along the southern coast, but without reaching Florida, or connecting their discoveries with that of De Leon. The idea of island which the Spaniards had at first attached to the country, gave way before additional intelligence and the assurances of the natives; and it became evident that a vast expanse of land lay in this direction. They, accordingly, from thenceforth claimed as Florida the whole continent of North America, including even Quebec. But this pretension, being encountered by the rivalry of more active European nations, could not be enforced; and, at no distant period, another sway and other names were established over nearly the whole of this vast range of territory.*

The knowledge, however, that such countries existed was turned to a cruel account by Spanish avidity. Slaves to cultivate the rich soil of the Antilles became an early object of demand, and could be procured from these savage coasts: hence a company was formed, and Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon was sent with two ships on this nefarious mission. He reached South Carolina, entered the river Combahee, which he named Jordan, and experienced the usual facility of a stranger, in opening a friendly intercourse with the natives. After the usual interchange of visits and friendship, they were easily lured in crowds on board the vessel; when, in the height of their confidence, the treacherous Spaniard set sail, and stood for the West Indies. Yet the crime was nearly abortive;—one of the ships sunk, and sickness thinned greatly the number of captives in the other.†

Another expedition, with a more legitimate design, was undertaken by Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, who had been a companion of the great Magellan. Between

* Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 34-41, 67, &c.
† Ibid. vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

the countries hitherto explored and Baccalaos, or the Codfish Island, as Newfoundland was then termed, there extended a vast space, within which there might still exist the eagerly desired passage to Hindostan. Gomez, employed by the council of the Indies, appears by the meagre narratives extant to have sailed northward to the latitudes of 40° and 41°. He consequently discovered New York, and part of New England, which are designated in early Spanish maps as the "Land of Gomez." Finding the continuity of coast still unbroken, he gave up the pursuit, but endeavoured to compensate his failure by the measure, not only unauthorized, but expressly prohibited, of enslaving a number of the natives,—a step which served only to increase the ridicule attached to the abortive issue of an expedition from which very sanguine hopes had been cherished.*

Meantime the attention of mankind was almost wholly engrossed by the exploits of Cortez in Mexico,—a region so vast that it might almost be called an empire, and abounding beyond any yet known in the precious metals. With reference to his success, a desire naturally arose to effect a similar achievement elsewhere. Florida was as extensive; and no reason was yet known why it should not be equally rich. Pamphilo de Narvaez, the unfortunate rival of Cortez, first sought it as a theatre of glory and wealth. He had been employed by the governor of Cuba to seize and supersede that chief, whom he equalled in valour, but by no means in prudence and conduct. He was surprised, wounded, and completely defeated, upon which most of his troops went over to his adversary. He possessed still, however, sufficient influence to obtain the means of trying his fortune on another field. He was invested in Spain with the title of adelantado of Florida, which included the functions of general and governor, giving authority at once to conquer and rule that territory.†

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 43.

† The only original narrative of this expedition is by Alvaro Nunez, called also Cabeca de Vaca, who accompanied it as

Narvaez, in June 1527, sailed from St Lucar with an armament of five vessels and 600 men. At Dominica, however, 140 of the number were induced, by promises held out by the settlers, and probably by a dread of what they might encounter, to stop short. The commander then proceeded to complete his equipments at St Jago de Cuba; but, being there assailed by a tremendous hurricane, which shattered all and completely destroyed one of the vessels, his force was reduced to 400 men and eighty horses.

On the 20th February 1528, with his four remaining ships, he set sail, and after coasting along Cuba, where he suffered severely from a violent tempest, left the Havannah for Florida. He landed in April at a point difficult to ascertain, but probably near the Bay of Spiritu Santo, where was a village of some importance, with a house large enough to contain 300 persons. Narvaez, in the usual domineering manner of his countrymen, hoisted the emperor's standard, demanding to it implicit submission. The natives used at once entreaties and threats to induce the Spaniards to depart; and when these failed, they retreated into the interior. At another village there was found a number of ornamented chests for the interment of the dead, which being fancied to imply something idolatrous, were, with their contents, reduced to ashes; a proceeding which must have deeply imbittered the minds of the Indians. The view of some rich cloths, and particularly of golden ornaments, continued to feed the extravagant hopes of the invaders.

It was now necessary to consider their course with care. The vessels were in an open roadstead; and Miruelo, who had undertaken to pilot them to a secure harbour, declared himself out of his reckoning, and quite ignorant where to steer. Alvaro Nunez, the narrator,

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treasurer. Though bearing marks of credulity and exaggeration, which have been too severely criticised, there appears no room to doubt its general correctness. It was first published in Barcia's Historiadores Primitivos del Nuevo Mundo, tom. ii. p. 1-43; and is translated by Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 260-276.

advised the commander to reimbark, and sail onwards till he should find a fertile country and a safe station to retreat on, if necessary. Narvaez, however, inspired by that rash valour which had already cost him so dear, and with the general concurrence of his men, determined to push at once into the interior; disdainfully telling Alvaro, that since this step appeared to him so perilous, he might consult his own safety by taking charge of the fleet. The latter, indignantly replied, that though he never hoped again to see the ships, he would rather share every extremity than desert his brave companions or allow his honour to be tarnished.

On the 1st May 1528, the Spaniards, 300 strong, with only forty horses—the rest having perished on shipboard—set forth to explore the depths of this vast continent. Appalachen, at a great distance from the shore, was pointed out as the spot where they would find in abundance the objects of their eager desire. Fifteen days were passed without seeing a habitation; and their small stock of biscuit and pork being quickly consumed, they could subsist only on the fruit of wild palm-trees. Oppressed by toil and exhaustion, they had to cross broad and rapid rivers, in the course of which Juan Velasquez, one of their boldest and bravest leaders, sunk with his horse and was drowned. Having come to a tribe hostile to Appalachen, they were encouraged and furnished with guides. The road, however, was in many places mountainous and marshy; and the Indians, when observed, either fled, or met them with showers of arrows. At length, after a fatiguing march of fifty-seven days, they arrived in view of a village, which was announced as the object of their search. It was hailed with rapture, as at once the end of so many toils, and the fulfilment of the most brilliant expectations.

Alvaro was sent to take possession of the place, which he easily effected, finding only women and children; the men being probably on a hunting excursion. The latter soon returned, and not a little dissatisfied at seeing their abodes thus tenanted, discharged a volley of arrows, which

merely killed a Spanish horse; and, unable to withstand regular troops, they fell back, and returned two days after in a pacific guise, entreating the restoration of their families. This was granted; but the seizure of a cacique, and continued exclusion from their homes, kept up the irritation. They made two successive attacks, and, though easily beaten off, retreated with little loss.

Here the Spaniards soon discovered that the brilliant hopes which had lured them were completely delusive. Three expeditions showed the country beyond to be rugged and marshy, with entangled forests and huge fallen trees encumbering every path. The Indians, though unable to face them in the field, could not be dislodged from the woods and bogs, whence they made desultory attacks, cutting off stragglers, and causing great scarcity of provisions. The cacique, still a prisoner, assured the invaders, that the farther north they proceeded, they would find the inhabitants fewer and the routes more difficult. Inquiring then what lay to the south, they were informed that in nine days they would reach Aute, near the coast, which afforded maize in abundance. So comfortable did this prospect appear, that, renouncing all their splendid hopes of gold and conquest, they determined to proceed to the better cultivated country.

The journey proved more perilous than had been anticipated. The marshes were very deep; and as they struggled through one, with the water up to their breasts, the whole body of Indians rushed from an ambush, and poured upon them clouds of arrows. These being very long, and discharged with extreme precision, caused many severe wounds, and, in some cases, immediate death. The assailants, tall, naked, and moving with wonderful swiftness, appeared almost supernatural beings. The Spaniards remained helpless marks for the deadly missiles, till extricated from the marsh, when they found it still difficult to keep the foe at a distance, and were finally relieved only by the enemy's weapons being exhausted. They then proceeded without farther obstacle to Aute, whence the inhabitants had fled; but a valuable

store of maize was found. Another day brought them to a river opening into a broad arm of the sea. This Mr Bancroft considers Pensacola; but it appears to us much more probable that it was the bay of Appalachicola. The route through the peninsula could scarcely have deviated much from north; Appalachen was probably in the interior from the great bay still bearing its name; and the march of nine days south from thence could hardly have carried them farther west than the great stream just specified,—the passage of which, too, had it occurred, must have formed a prominent feature in the narrative.

Their situation now involved not only the extinction of all their past hopes, but the most gloomy presages as to their future fate. Nearly a third of their number had perished; and disease rapidly spreading, quite unfitted the survivors for the long and laborious march to the ships. After much consultation, there appeared no resource but to construct barks and sail along the coast; and no task could well appear more hopeless for men possessing neither knowledge, nor implements, nor materials of the art: it had this only recommendation, that every thing else was utterly desperate. They called upon heaven for aid, and also upon necessity the mother of invention. With wooden pipes and skins a pair of bellows was constructed, and a man somewhat skilled in smith-work converted their stirrups, spurs, and cross-bows into nails, saws, and hatchets. Their shirts, cut open and sewed together, were formed into sails; the juice of a species of pine served for tar, the woolly part of the palm-tree for oakum, and its twisted fibres for rope. The work was prosecuted with such activity, that, between the 4th August and 20th September, five boats were prepared, into each of which forty or fifty persons could with difficulty be crowded. In this plight it behoved them to sail.

After seven days, they somewhat improved their accommodation, by seizing five Indian canoes; but at the end of thirty days, without means of landing or refreshment, they felt severely the scarcity of food and

water. They discovered and debarked at a village, where they were hospitably welcomed; but a midnight attack by hostile savages forced them to retreat with great loss. Another populous place was abandoned owing to a quarrel with the inhabitants. Their situation became more and more critical; the provisions drew near a closo; and the barks, shattered by severe gales, could scarcely be got forward. As Narvaez pushed before the rest, Alvaro called to him for orders; but he replied, that the time was past for giving or receiving instructions; every man must save himself as he could. Having the best manned vessel, he was soon out of sight; but this reckless selfishness availed him nothing, and they had reason to believe that he miserably perished.

Alvaro sailed on with two of the remaining barks; but the crews were so exhausted, that on the evening of the fourth day they fell down half-dead. Happily next morning the sound of breakers announced land, which they reached in a boat, and having cooked a little maize, felt their strength and spirits revive. Lopez d'Oviedo, the most vigorous, mounted a tree and reported that they were on a well cultivated island, almost resembling a Christian country. About a hundred natives soon surrounded them, and Alvaro, not having six men able to rise from the ground, could not attempt any violent proceedings. He sought to gain them by presents and courtesy, and met a most gracious return. After two or three days they brought a supply of provisions with which the Spaniards prepared to resume their voyage. They began to launch the boat, a laborious task, in the course of which it was found necessary to strip off and throw their clothes into the bark. But after they were afloat, and had sailed about two bow-shots, a tremendous wave sunk it with all the clothes, while they themselves were cast ashore half-drowned and almost suffocated. Then, indeed, their previous condition, deemed so miserable, appeared almost felicity compared with the excess of their present calamity. They lay on the sand, naked, destitute, and hopeless; and as they looked at each other's

emaciated frames, in which every bone was conspicuous, each felt sympathy with the others, mingled with his own distress. The Indians came up, and by loud cries expressed the tenderest pity, when Alvaro proposed to his companions to ask aid from a people who seemed full of such humane and generous feelings. But several companions of Cortez, who had seen their captive countrymen sacrificed in solemn pomp to the Mexican god of war, solemnly adjured him rather to abide every extremity. Looking round, however, on his followers, he saw no alternative, but the inevitable necessity of otherwise perishing, while the kindness and pity that beamed in the strangers' looks made it appear probable that they did not meditate any such dreadful purpose. He implored their aid, which was instantly and cordially granted. They led or rather carried the sufferers to their village, kindled large fires, and hastily, in their slight manner, erected a wooden house or shed for their accommodation. All this care did not abate the panic of the Mexican adventurers, who viewed those measures only as preparatory to their immolation; and the customary songs and dances of the Indians during the night seemed to mark the festal pomp of its celebration. The arrival of morning and of a good breakfast somewhat lessened their dread, which was entirely removed by a continuance of kindly treatment. They learned also that another of their barks had been shipwrecked at no great distance and the crew cast ashore, though the two parties could not aid each other.

This temporary calm did not endure long. A series of tempestuous weather, interrupting the fishery and other Indian occupations, caused a severe scarcity, which of course fell with peculiar hardship on the strangers; and it was followed by a pestilential malady. Five Spaniards, in a detached station, urged by extreme want, adopted the dreadful resource of devouring each other, till only one remained because "there was nobody to eat him." This shocked the natives, and gave an unfavourable impression of their strange guests. Sus-

picions were also entertained that the plague was caused by their magic and malignant influence; though, on its being represented that they themselves suffered as severely, this charge was withdrawn. The first feelings of kindness had however evaporated, and the strangers were tolerated only on condition of performing the most laborious tasks, such as digging for roots in marshes. They were, moreover, called upon to exercise the medical art,—a skill in which is usually ascribed by savages to visitants in any degree superior to their own condition. They represent themselves as positively disclaiming such powers, and as compelled to exert them only by the intimation, that otherwise their present scanty allotment of food would be withdrawn. Thus starved into doctors, they began to practise on the Indian model, by blowing upon the patient and uttering Spanish words, which had a mysterious sound in their ears. Their exertions, through the power of imagination, were attended with wonderful success, though the professional fees were too scanty to improve their forlorn state. Alvaro found more advantage in a petty traffic, exchanging shells and marine productions for red ochre, skins, flint, and cane; and he had the advantage of being able to pass between hostile tribes who would not otherwise have held any communication.

The Spaniards, during the period of famine and pestilence, had been reduced by various calamities from eighty to fifteen; and in the course of the expedition, the Indians, urged by various motives, killed a number of the survivors. Four of the most vigorous undertook to find their way to Panuco, and thence bring aid to the others; but not being aware of its vast distance, they completely failed to reach it. They learned, however, the fate of the adelantado. Having landed the greater part of his crew, he himself, remaining on shipboard, encountered a tremendous gale, was driven far out to sea, and was never more heard of. Those left on shore perished by violence or famine, which had impelled many to the dreadful extremity of devouring each other; and only one of the four

returned with these doleful tidings. At length Alvaro persuaded three of his companions, Dorante, Castiglio, and Estevanico, to join him in that long journey to the westward, by which they hoped to reach the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They were probably little aware of the great extent which they had to traverse; yet when they pointed to the setting sun, the natives assured them that nations dwelt far in that direction, though many deep gulfs and broad rivers intervened.

After forming their resolution, they found considerable difficulty in escaping from the Indians, who were unwilling to lose their services. The festival, however, occasioned by the collection of a fruit called *tune*, was celebrated with a reckless gayety, amid which they succeeded even in carrying off a good supply of provisions. Coming among unknown tribes, they hesitated not to recommend themselves by the medical practice in which they had been forcibly initiated; being aided by that mystery and interest usually excited on the first view of strangers. Every new object, it is observed, was considered among them as descended from heaven; hence the wanderers readily obtained the reputation of children of the sun, endowed with superhuman powers. They gained even the credit of raising a man from the dead,—an achievement which has greatly shaken the reputation of Alvaro, though the details, if narrowly examined, will not perhaps bear any proof of deliberate falsehood. Being called to a man who had been seized with sudden illness, he found him with his eyes closed, apparently dead, and believed so by all the bystanders. Having as usual blown upon him and pronounced mystic invocations without effect, he was hurried off to others whose condition appeared more hopeful. He was much surprised to find, on returning from his round, that the individual had revived, and regained his appetite. The whole appears quite accordant with the supposition of a swoon or temporary insensibility; and the credulity of the spectators, both European and Indian, readily converted it into a prodigy. Even in Spain, where the

affair excited a warm controversy, the most vehement opponent of Alvaro admits the event to be not at all improbable, provided it had been ascribed to a holy priest instead of a wicked soldier. An anonymous defender, who faintly repels this last appellation, argues that such preternatural powers had been bestowed by Providence on wicked men, on devils, and even on beasts; devoting a chapter to the "wonderful prodigies performed by brutes." Without going deeper into this mystery, we may consider it proved, that the pretension arose rather from the ignorance and love of the marvellous peculiar to that age, than from any intention to deceive; and hence that Mr Bancroft has gone too far in branding the whole narrative as disfigured by "the wildest fictions." We are not aware of any other statement bearing a supernatural or even very marvellous character; and the whole appears to accord tolerably well with what might be expected in such circumstances.

These powers, supposed to be thus beneficently exerted, gained for the Spaniards general favour. They went from nation to nation, every where preceded by this good character; and, either by accompanying the natives in their migrations, or by procuring guides for themselves, made their way gradually westward. They passed a large river, which we presume to be the Mississippi, then traversed a populous plain, thirty leagues broad; after which they had to cross fifty leagues of a rugged and dreary tract, being the desert which intervenes between the United States and the Mexican territory. Proceeding still in the same direction, instead of following the coast of the Mexican Gulf, they were involved in a route at once circuitous and difficult. Having crossed another broad stream (the Rio del Norte), they found themselves among a range of steep and barren mountains, being those which extend over New Biscay, the modern province of Durango. Here they suffered severely, both from fatigue and want of food, regarding a place where maize might be found like an island in the ocean. Suddenly they came upon a native

who wore round his neck a buckle and other trifles evidently of Spanish manufacture. Eagerly inquiring whence these were obtained, they were informed it was from a new race, who came from heaven, rode on horses, and wore long beards. Animated by the hope of soon meeting their countrymen, the wanderers proceeded as rapidly as their weakness would permit. They soon received ample accounts of the Christians, though of the most painful nature, hearing them described as a band of ruffians, who, wherever they came, murdered, plundered, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. The people were fleeing in every direction, or seeking refuge on the tops of high mountains, leaving the fine plains, to which the party had now come, desert and uncultivated. Alvaro withheld all mention of his relation to such a race; but, by promises of protection, prevailed on a large body of Indians to accompany him to their quarters. At length his party met four Spaniards on horseback, who stood some time in speechless astonishment at their strange attire, and at their being in company with natives. The latter again, on being told that their mysterious companions were Christians, were not only amazed but utterly incredulous. Every thing belonging to the two, they said, were opposite; the one came from the setting, the other from the rising sun; the one were armed, clothed, and mounted, the other naked and on foot; the one healed the sick, the other killed the healthy.

Alvaro was conducted to Diego Alcaraz, the commandant in this district, but did not meet the reception he had expected. That chief, according to the atrocious system of his countrymen, wished to make slaves of the poor Indians who accompanied the discoverers. Alvaro vigorously and successfully opposed this iniquity; but he was thereby involved in an altercation with the commander, who indulged his resentment by sending him forward over a mountainous and desolate tract. On reaching Culiazzan, however, he was received in the kindest manner by the governor, Melchior Diaz, as well

as afterwards at Compostella by the Viceroy Nuncz di Guzman. For some time he was unable either to wear clothes or to sleep unless on the floor. At Mexico he was equally well treated; and, having recruited himself by a stay of two months, set sail, and arrived at Lisbon on the 9th August 1537.

It could scarcely have been expected, after such a series of calamities, and the destruction of an entire expedition, that Florida would have borne any attraction in Spanish eyes. Notwithstanding, when Alvaro reached home, he found a fresh and greater armament ready to sail; new and memorable events having whetted more than ever among that people the appetite for gold and conquest. Peru, discovered, conquered, and its treasures grasped by a handful of adventurers, had given birth to the most brilliant ideas of American wealth. Fernando de Soto, originally owning nothing but courage and his sword, had followed the fortunes of Pizarro, and been a chief instrument in annexing to Spain that golden region. He accompanied the first embassy to Atahualpa, commanding one of the three companies of horse which made captive that unfortunate prince; and afterwards proceeding to Cusco, he was active in the reduction of that imperial city. Having shared amply in Peruvian treasure, he returned to his country laden with wealth, and with that dark but lofty fame which attended those memorable exploits. His reception was brilliant; he obtained in marriage the daughter of the nobleman under whom he had first served, and appeared in pomp at the court of Charles V. Having accommodated that monarch with a liberal loan, he paved the way for obtaining almost any object on which he should set his heart. But he sued for a fatal gift. His present ample wealth and glory were prized only as a step to something higher; having in Peru been second to Pizarro, he now sought a country, the honour of conquering and ruling which might be wholly his own. He had fixed his eyes on Florida. Charles was exceedingly ready to bestow a boon which cost him nothing, and might place another bright gem

in his crown. Soto was created adelantado of that province, and allowed to select thirty leagues in it, to be erected into a marquisate. Just as the agreement was concluded, Alvaro arrived with his doleful tale; yet he is said to have given favourable accounts of the country itself. There was even a negotiation for his accompanying the new commander; but they did not agree upon terms, and he obtained a command on the Rio de la Plata.

Soto, now gratified to his utmost wish, proceeded to embark his whole fortune in this grand expedition.* As the report spread that he was setting forth to conquer another Peru, many enterprising youths made haste to offer their services; and some even selling their property embarked it in the cause. He selected 950 men,† most of whom were trained to arms, and of daring valour; a force which, small as it may appear, was superior in number and equipments to those which had subverted the Mexican and Peruvian empires.

On the 6th April 1538, Soto embarked his troops in ten vessels, and sailed for Cuba, which was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every needful resource. There he spent a year in preparation, and Vasco Porcalho, a veteran, who, like himself, had gained by the sword an immense fortune, and was living in splendid retirement, was so delighted with the noble appointment and bold spirit of the expedition, that he

* The most elaborate narrative is by Garcilossa de la Vega, under the title of Florida del Yuca, 4to, Lisboa, 1605. There is also a narrative by a Portuguese who accompanied the expedition, translated and published by Hakluyt in 1609, with a dedication to the Virginia Company, and included in the modern reprint of his collection, vol. v. p. 477-550. The former appears founded upon the fullest information from high authority; but there is a tendency to exaggeration which may be corrected by collation with the other. Much light, on this as on other occasions, has been derived from Mr Bancroft, though without implicitly following him.

† The Portuguese say only 600; but as Vega names the different ships, with the number in each, his information seems more precise.

joined it with a train of followers and large supplies. He was created lieutenant-general.

On the 18th May 1539, the adelantado sailed with nine vessels from the Havanna; on the 25th, he saw the coast of Florida; and, on the 30th, landed in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which appears to be not very far from the point chosen by Narvaez. A great display was made of religious zeal; twelve priests accompanied the adventurers, and provision was made for celebrating in their utmost pomp the various Catholic ceremonies. Unfortunately, Soto had not duly weighed the golden text, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" yet he appears to have gone with intentions somewhat more humane than usual, determining to abstain from every outrage against the natives. But the rooted habits of ferocity and recklessness of Indian life and suffering could not easily be repressed: these are indicated even by the provision of chains for securing the captives, and of bloodhounds for hunting down the more refractory. To obviate the scarcity of provisions, so severe upon the former expedition, he carried with him a great number of hogs, which every where found food in those immense forests.

It seems an unaccountable circumstance, that he should have chosen nearly the same track which his predecessor had traversed without discovering any of the mineral treasures in view. The sufferings formerly inflicted on the inhabitants had excited against the Spanish name an imbittered enmity, which at once baffled all his good intentions, and produced a cruel retaliation. In the outset, he had the good fortune to obtain the services of a countryman and guide. Of four individuals, belonging to a ship sent in search of the late armament, three had been put to death with torture by a neighbouring cacique. Ortiz, the fourth, was doomed to follow, but that mercy which adorns the female character, even in savage life, interposed in his behalf. The daughter of the chief first gained his life, and then, on that boon being revoked, enabled him to escape to

a neighbouring prince, where she could secure for him a favourable reception.

Soto began his dealings with Hirriga, one of the native rulers, to whom, through the medium of some friends, he tendered an amicable visit. That prince, whom the proceedings of the former expedition had inspired with the deepest enmity, replied, that the heads of the Spaniards severed from their bodies would be most welcome; but in no other shape would he allow their entrance into his dominions. Having ventured an attack, and being repulsed by Porcalho, he abandoned his capital, and sought refuge among woods and marshes. The victor attempted to track him thither, but sunk so deep in mud, that he could with difficulty be dragged out alive, and was obliged to retreat. The old man then burst into the most violent ill humour, and was heard muttering to himself,—Hirrihigua—Urribaracuxi,—declaring his abhorrence of a land the very names of which his organs could scarcely utter. He finally resolved, in spite of the urgency of the adelantado, to return to Cuba, leaving a force under his nephew, which however was found very difficult to manage.

The Spanish general now proceeded into the territories of Urribaracuxi and Acuera, where he met a similar reception; the chiefs and people fleeing into deep forests, where he sought in vain to follow them. He endeavoured, but with little success, to soften their enmity by sending back the captives loaded with presents. Unfortunately he considered himself bound as a loyal subject to open, in all cases, his intercourse with a demand of homage to the emperor; which those free and proud chieftains, not without reason, treated as insolent and absurd. Although unable to meet the invaders in the field, they hovered round, and not a Spaniard could stir three hundred yards from the camp without being killed or wounded. Had Florida, like Mexico, been under one great government, Soto, with his brave band, would have beaten the army, entered the capital, and been master of the country. But he struggled helplessly against a

multitude of fierce petty tribes, whom even now the whole force of the United States has proved unable to put down. They offered no point at which a blow could be struck, and never left him master of more than the spot on which his army stood.

He continued, however, to advance, and at length came to the fertile district of Acali, where the troops with satisfaction felt the ground firm beneath their feet. The prince too, after some delay, met them, tendered his submission, and made the most flattering professions. But when the Spaniards, who were justly suspicious of this extreme cordiality, were involved in the difficulties of passing a large stream, some hundred savages started from among the bushes, and poured in clouds of arrows, using the most opprobrious epithets. The attack was repelled, and the passage effected, with the loss only of a favourite dog. The prince made solemn protestations of innocence, in which Soto placed very little confidence; but following still his conciliatory system, he merely desired the youth to take his departure.

More memorable events distinguished their march through the country of Vitachuco,* which was governed by a prince of the same name. That chief prepared to resist them with the most determined hostility, treating with utter derision the assertion of some, that they were children of the sun and of the moon, endued with supernatural powers. He announced to them in hyperbolical terms, that he would command the earth to open and swallow them up; that he would poison the plants, the rivers, and the very air. On their approach, however, he learned enough to convince him that open resistance would be vain, and therefore resolved to follow an opposite course, employing those stratagems in which the fiercest savages have never been wanting. He went courteously to meet the Spanish general, apologized for his former conduct as prompted

* Called Napetuca by the Portuguese.

by false impressions, and proffered submission and service. Soto was gained over, and, being led to the capital, was treated in the most distinguished manner. The cacique summoned his warriors from every quarter, as if to honour this illustrious guest. A day being appointed, when both nations were to muster in warlike array, the chiefs were secretly instructed, on a given signal, to attack and at one blow exterminate this detested race. Through Ortiz, however, intelligence of the plot was received, and the Spaniards were armed and prepared for the onset. Just when it was about to begin, a party of them surrounded and seized the cacique. Yet the savage host, undismayed, rushed on with loud shouts; and Soto having rashly galloped into the crowd, his gallant steed, which had often borne him to victory, fell, pierced by eight arrows. The rider was in imminent danger; but his brave cavalry soon rescued him, and dispersed the loose infantry of the Indians. A chosen band, the flower of their warriors, plunged into a large pond, where they kept themselves afloat by swimming, and, though the invaders surrounded it six deep, refused to surrender. They hoped to escape during the night; but a strict watch being kept, in the morning they were half-dead with cold and fatigue. They still held out, and some who were induced to approach the shore hastily drew back. A few having at length landed, and being well received, the whole by mid-day had surrendered, except seven, whom certain good swimmers seized by the hair and pulled on shore. The Spaniards admired their fortitude, and by general consent a pardon was bestowed. Vitachuco himself was told, that, however disgraceful his conduct had been, it would be buried in oblivion; and he was even admitted to the table of the adelantado.

Soto, having thus attempted to subdue the enmity of the natives by conciliation, ought to have followed out his plan steadily and consistently. Unluckily it struck him, that some penalty imposed on these proud Indians might deter others from following such an example;

and he adopted one which appears to have been the most injudicious possible. The warriors saved from the pond were distributed among this people to be employed as cooks and scullions, and to perform all other menial offices. These lofty spirits, who disdained to execute any daily task even for themselves, considered this as the last possible indignity. Though the Spanish general intended, it is said, to set them free at his departure, this purpose does not seem to have been disclosed, so that they appeared doomed to hopeless bondage. Every obligation was considered as cancelled, and the fiercest desire of vengeance was again inspired. This feeling was fully shared by Vitachuco, to whom it appeared, that if each Indian should kill his master, their oppressors might be at once extirpated. The natives, though disarmed, being at large, and in close and frequent contact with the enemy, their chief appointed a signal at which they were all to start up and begin the attack. At three, one afternoon, while seated at table with the general, he uttered a tremendous shout, cracking his bones in a peculiar manner, well understood by his followers; then, grasping Soto by the arm, he struck him such a blow that the latter fell senseless to the ground, the blood gushing from his mouth and nostrils. He had raised his hand to deal another, which would have closed the career of the adelantado; but his officers instantly started up, and by twelve successive wounds laid the cacique lifeless on the floor. The Indians meantime, according to their instructions, were brandishing spits, pots, chairs, every thing with which a wound could be inflicted. Several of the Europeans were killed, and many received severe hurts. As soon, however, as they had recovered from their surprise, they were a complete overmatch for their undisciplined assailants, almost all of whom miserably perished.

As soon as their wounds were cured, the Spaniards left this fatal spot and marched towards Appalachen. The Indians, as might have been expected, carried on still the

same harassing hostility, abandoning their habitations, fleeing into the most inaccessible spots, and leaving nothing on which a conqueror could lay hold. Their imbittered feelings were not softened by the practice of seizing all who could be overtaken, dragging them along with chains round their necks, and compelling them to perform the most degrading offices.

In the approach to Appalachen it was reported to the Spanish chief that he would meet with more regular resistance than hitherto; yet the place was deserted like all the others, and the cacique with his people had fled into the forest. As the usual harassing warfare then began, Soto hoped to terminate it by getting the prince into his power. He learned the remote spot where he was kept within an intrenchment of successive palisades esteemed quite impregnable; but the invaders soon forced this barrier, and seized the sovereign, whose huge unwieldy bulk rendered flight altogether impossible. Being received with respect and well treated, he could not now refuse to send orders that his people should cease hostilities. But though imbued with deep reverence, they disregarded mandates evidently compulsory, and eagerly sought means to rescue him. He contrived to persuade the European commander, that, if allowed an interview with his chiefs, he would convince them of his sincerity, and make them embrace his offers. Soto felt all the delicacy of this arrangement; yet seeing no other hope, he at length agreed. The meeting was fixed at a forest six miles from Appalachen, whither the cacique was sent under a strong guard, with injunctions to keep strict watch over him. The place being reached in the evening, the interview was postponed till next day; and though during the night a circle was formed around his highness with every possible precaution, in the morning he was not to be found. The guards, in utter amazement and mortification, protested that his ponderous person could never have been removed by human means, but must have been wafted through the air by those mighty magicians, of whose potency the natives con-

stantly boasted. Soto could not but suspect that the god of slumber, weighing heavily on their eyelids, had been the real agent; but as the affair was past remedy, he abstained from investigation. The Indians, however, got their monarch, and carried him off in triumph to a great distance, where it was impossible again to reach him.

The adventurer found at Appalachen none of those precious metals which were the object of his almost exclusive inquiry. The country, however, appeared tolerably agreeable; and the season being advanced, he resolved to establish his winter quarters there. Having learned that the sea was at no great distance, he sent forward a detachment, who reached the place where the former party appear to have equipped their ill-fated expedition. He then despatched another to the bay of Spiritu Santo, with orders for the fleet to come round to the newly discovered spot. As it afforded no good shelter, Francisco Maldonado was sent along the coast in search of a commodious harbour. He returned with the report, that sixty leagues to the westward he had found one called Ochus or Achussi, probably in the bay of Pensacola. The fleet was then ordered to make it their permanent station, either to secure retreat or as a channel for supplies.

Soto, however, was by no means thinking of retreat, but was busied in eager inquiry after some rich and golden country. Among the captives at Appalachen were two individuals who had travelled far to the north-west. They were shown gold, silver, and various precious stones, and asked if they had any where met with these. They replied that they had seen in abundance a yellow and also a white metal, which bore a great resemblance to those now exhibited. The pearls were also pointed out as objects which they had observed. The Spaniards, in the highest exultation, and imagining themselves to be approaching a Peru as rich as that conquered by Pizarro, with the utmost alacrity began their journey.

In the end of March 1540, the adelantado departed from Appalachen. Four days after he had to cross a broad

river, apparently the Santillo, continually harassed by the attacks of the natives, who succeeded at one place in surprising a detachment of seven, only one of whom recovered from his wounds. After leaving this hostile land, and intent only on reaching the more favoured country, he seems to have felt the necessity of adopting a more decided plan of conciliation. He dropped the demand of immediate submission to the emperor, which had excited such just and general indignation. At Achese the people still fled before him; but by showing kindness to a few prisoners, he opened by their means an intercourse with the cacique. Having professed intentions the most friendly, and asked only a passage through his territory, he met a courteous reception and the required aid. At Ocute, the next capital, he experienced equal favour; but the troops, unaccustomed to meagre diet, were grievously afflicted by the failure of animal food. A number of fine dogs, which the cacique had presented to the commander, were immediately killed and devoured as a dainty.

They appear then to have passed the Alatamaha, and left what is now called Florida, which had been found, with few exceptions, a marshy tract of pine forest. They entered Georgia, called at that time Patofa, a comparatively fertile and populous region, where the cacique not only welcomed but made the most active exertions to serve them. He advised them to go to Coosa, a productive country in the west; but the guide pointed to Cofaciqui, in the opposite direction, as the depository of metallic wealth. The chief then gave them a large body of his subjects to carry their baggage, and forthwith took leave. They passed with some difficulty the Ogeechee, a large and broad river, across which the horses swam. The Indian bearers, being now in a hostile territory, began to attack the natives; they were quite ignorant of the path; and as they consumed the provisions, it became expedient to dismiss them. The route proved much longer than was indicated by the guide, against whom such rage was kindled that, without doubt, he would have been thrown to the

dogs, had his services not been still needed. The stock of maize, provided for a much shorter journey, failed; and their distress would have been extreme, had not their swine produced a numerous progeny, which with herbs and roots kept them alive. They came to a very large river (the Savannah), but had no means of crossing it. Parties were sent up and down, for some time without success, till at length they came to a village, and had the satisfaction to learn that Cofaciqui was on the opposite bank, and moreover that the female sovereign who then ruled it, was prepared to welcome them. Erelong an ornamented barge was seen moving from the other side, containing a person of rank, who proved to be the princess. She enchanted them by her beauty, grace, and courtesy; regretting the reigning scarcity, yet promising spacious accommodation and the necessary provisions. Having a triple row of pearls round her neck, she untied it, and bid Ortiz give it to the general; then, at the latter's request, she modestly presented it with her own hand. Canoes were instantly supplied, in which the whole troop was safely ferried over.

As soon as the Spaniards were established at Cofaciqui, they began their wonted inquiry after the yellow and the white metals, and the princess caused specimens to be immediately produced,—a sight which instantly dispelled all their brilliant hopes. The former appeared to them mere brass with a gilded tint; yet it was probably an ore of gold, though so much alloyed that they had not skill to discover or probably to extract it; for, by a strange omission, they appear to have had no persons acquainted with the science or practice of mining. As for the white metal, it crumbled in the hand like dried clay, being apparently mere portions of the pure quartz which generally accompanies the gold formation of the Carolinas, and exhibits in many places a very brilliant whiteness. The pearls alone were considered as answering in some degree their lofty expectations, though the very profusion of them might have inspired scepticism. They were apparently nothing more than good

specimens of those beautiful bivalves which abound in the interior rivers of the continent; and though they have never acquired value as objects of commerce, are said to display a lustre rivalling that of the pearl-oyster shell.

Many of the Spaniards, pleased with their reception, and sick of their long wanderings, expressed a wish to settle here. The country appeared fitted to yield valuable produce, and well situated for trade, being near the bay of St Helena, already visited by Vasquez d'Ayllon. But Soto would listen to no such proposal. His hope was still to find a golden kingdom in this direction, or, if that should fail, the bay of Achussi, which he considered much more conveniently situated, ought to be their place of settlement, and the point whence further efforts might be made.

The expedition, in the beginning of May, departed from Cofaciqui. The original good understanding with the natives had been interrupted, chiefly it is admitted through the violent proceedings of the invaders themselves. Their leader, considering it impossible to march through the country without danger of attack, took the extreme step of seizing on his fair hostess, who had received him so cordially, and carrying her with him as a prisoner. She was well treated, but obliged to issue orders that they should be supplied with whatever her territories afforded. She escaped near the frontier. The narrators give very indistinct notices of the general's views; but his line of march being directed towards the great auriferous range behind the Carolinas, he evidently went on information entitled to some degree of reliance. It led him, however, over branches of the Appalachians, through the Cherokee territory, a most rugged and barren tract, where the party were again exposed to severe famine. On reaching Chiaha, probably Echata, described as an island from being surrounded by numerous river-channels, some rest was taken, and inquiries made after a rich country. A friendly cacique there stated, that to the north "there was a melting of copper, and of another metal of the same colour, save that it was

finer, and of a far more perfect colour." Two Spaniards with Indian guides, who were sent in search of it, returned after ten days with accounts which are very variously reported. According to the Portuguese authors, they had been led through a barren district, wholly unfit to support the army, and not yielding a single valuable commodity. Vega, on the contrary, assures his readers that they had observed mines of the yellow metal formerly seen elsewhere, and that from the disposition of the land, those of gold and silver might be discovered, if carefully sought for.* As this account corresponds with the fact, it is probably correct; yet Soto quitted, when on its very border, the only gold-field in the United States, and one which has since proved very considerable. He ought to have known that the precious metals are found chiefly in high and barren places; but gold and a rich country were always combined in his ideas and inquiries. He had not, as already observed, brought any miners with him; and his hope was to find, not naked rocks out of which ore might be laboriously dug, but a splendid capital, like that of Montezuma or Atahualpa, filled with accumulated treasure, which would at once enrich himself and his followers. Seeing no prospect of this, he determined to retreat southward, and seek supplies at his rendezvous in the Gulf of Mexico.

He came first to Coosa, on the river so named, a country fertile and well cultivated, where he stopped to recruit his followers. Instead, however, of that conciliatory policy which had for some time succeeded so well, he adopted one precisely opposite. On entering any district, he made it his first object to gain possession of the cacique's person, detain him during their whole stay, and compel him to issue orders for every needful supply. The Coosa prince, who met them in the most cordial manner, was not exempted from this injurious treatment; and his subjects, who made vain efforts to

* Vega, l. iii. c. xx. Portuguese Narrative, c. xvi.

release their chief, saw him carried away as a captive to the extreme frontier.

This system was next practised on the cacique of Tuscaloosa, a person of gigantic stature, fierce and proud, and ruling over extensive territories. He received the Spanish leaders with lofty courtesy, scarcely rising from his seat, and his indignation may be easily conceived when he found himself their prisoner. Yet seeing no immediate deliverance, he resolved to dissemble, pretended cheerfully to accompany the strangers, and studiously supplied their wants. One or two Europeans, indeed, mysteriously disappeared, but he gave plausible explanations, and carefully concealed his deep purpose of vengeance. At length they reached Mauvila (Mobile), a large town strongly palisaded, with only eighty houses, but each containing numerous families. Soto was invited to enter, and believing that his men would be refreshed by sleeping under a roof, accepted the proffered kindness. He was entertained with dances, and every kind of gayety. Yet notice was conveyed to him that the houses were filled with armed warriors, collected from every quarter, that the children had been removed, and even the women, except those who, in this warlike region, were accounted "fit for battle." The general merely directed his followers to be on their guard. The immediate commencement is variously related; but in an instant Mauvila echoed with the yells of thousands, and clouds of arrows were poured upon the Spaniards. In this exigency Soto ordered his men to retreat fighting to the place without the city where they had left their horses, for it was only when mounted that they possessed a decided superiority. This movement was effected, though not without some being killed and many wounded, while the commander himself was repeatedly in danger. When they had mounted on horseback the natives could no longer face them; but the palisade being still strong against a force without artillery, some time elapsed before a chosen body could force open the gate. Even then the Indians were

found so strongly posted in the houses, that they could not be overcome except by the dreadful expedient of setting the place on fire. In a town entirely framed of reeds and branches, the effect was alike sudden and terrible; both armies were involved in volumes of flame and smoke; the natives rushing forth, fell a sacrifice either to the devouring element or the sword of the invader! Those who escaped into the fields endeavoured to renew the battle, and even their females aided in this extremity; but all was in vain, and at length the survivors sought safety in a general flight.

Thus closed the dreadful battle of Mauvila. The loss on the part of the Indians has been stated at 11,000; but even 2500, the lowest estimate, is perhaps exaggerated. Of the Spaniards only eighteen were killed, but among these were Don Carlos and Diego de Soto, gallant youths and near relatives of the governor. Many others were severely wounded, and, besides, the whole party lost every thing. The baggage had been conveyed by chained Indians, who were left outside one of the gates; but the Mauvilans, in their first success, liberating them from their bonds, brought into the town all the effects, which perished in the subsequent conflagration. The discoverers had not even a change of clothes; and were, besides, deprived of the instruments for celebrating the higher mysteries of their religion.

Soto learned at first, with satisfaction, that his port of Achussi was only thirty leagues distant, and occupied by Maldonado. On consideration, however, he felt extreme reluctance to exhibit his armament, and have the tidings conveyed to Spain of its miserable and reduced state. He was alarmed also to hear that his men were complaining of having had only hard fighting and scanty fare, with none of those glittering treasures described in flattering terms by the conquerors of Peru. It was therefore in agitation among them, immediately on reaching the coast, to embark for Mexico, where better fortune might await them,—a purpose which it would have been difficult to prevent. The general could not wholly con-

ceal from himself the unfavourable result of the expedition, in which he had embarked all his hopes and fortunes. But in this fallen state to appear again in Spain, which he had quitted under such brilliant circumstances, was felt to be intolerable. He determined rather to plunge afresh into the depths of the American continent, in the hope of finding at length some object that might reward his adventure; and he still possessed such a command over his followers as to carry them along with him in this desperate undertaking.

He directed his march north-west into the valley of the Mississippi, a region hitherto unexplored,—abounding too in natural wealth, destined amply to repay culture and industry, but devoid of the treasures which he sought. After hard marching and fighting, he came to Chicaça, the small capital of the warlike nation of the Chickasaws. As the cold was becoming severe, he made it his winter quarters, and attempted, with apparent success, to open a friendly communication with the cacique. Presents and visits were exchanged; and in the spring of the year the intercourse seemed about to close amicably, when the general applied for 200 natives to carry his baggage. The Indians, who had all along been watching an opportunity for surprise, were thus induced to hasten their operations. Taking advantage of a dark stormy night, and favoured by the treachery or cowardice of the sentinels, they penetrated undiscovered into the Spanish cantonments, and set them on fire. The troops, at dead of night, were roused from slumber by the crackling of the flames, the smoke, and the yells of the infuriated Chickasaws. They might have been entirely cut off, but that the horses, seized with terror, and rushing with wild neighings from place to place, were mistaken for mounted troops, and struck a panic into that undisciplined band, who fled without being pursued. The Spaniards, on rallying, found that only eleven had fallen; but they had lost fifty horses, most of their hogs, and such clothes as had escaped the flames at Mauvila. Even their iron armour was damaged, and required some time for repair.

No condition, certainly, could be esteemed more desolate than theirs now was. Yet they had still bold hearts and hands, which might have conquered a wealthy kingdom, had any such existed in that part of America. Soto accordingly pushed forward, till stopped by the broad stream of the Mississippi, called here Chucagua or the great river. It is accurately described as above a mile broad, rapid, muddy, extremely deep, and with many large trees floating down its channel.* His passage being opposed, it was twenty days before he could construct barges and transport his men; but after passing through Aquico, the towns of which had been abandoned, he came to a fertile territory named Casquin (the Kaskaskias Indians). Having experienced such dreadful losses from the hostility of the natives, he had again recourse to conciliation, and with his former success, being most cordially treated by the cacique and his people. Lured by deceptive reports of gold, he proceeded still northward along the river to Copaha,† a country equally populous, and where he was also well received. But as the cold was becoming severe, he merely sent a party northwards, who, on their return, stated that they had travelled seven days in that direction, and had found the country very barren and thinly inhabited. Farther north, the climate became intensely frigid, and the plains were covered with such vast herds of oxen (bisons) as rendered cultivation impossible. Soto therefore determined to make Copaha the limit of his march northwards. American writers have been unable to fix its precise position, though it undoubtedly formed part of the Missouri state; and the description of the country, as well as of the fish caught in the river, establishes the accuracy of the narrative. The details as to a long range of fertile country, followed by a tract of desert, along the Mississippi, seem to afford data

* Mr Bancroft considers that they were the first Europeans by whom it was discovered and crossed; but we think it probable from the preceding narrative that they had been anticipated by Alvaro Nunez.

† Called by the Portuguese Capaha.

which, on an attentive topographical survey, might indicate the place.

The Spanish commander, seeing no prospect of success in this direction, contented himself with asking for a fertile district; and he was directed to one called Quigaute, which appears to be the rich tract on the river St Francois. It was found to answer the description; but the intercourse with the natives was again hostile. Learning that there lay a mountainous region to the north-west, which seems to be that at the head of the White River, he proceeded thither, in the vain hope that the rocks might contain gold. Disappointed once more, he bent his course southwards in search of a productive soil, which he found at Cayas, amid the hot and saline springs on the Upper Washita. Descending that river, he arrived at Autiamque (Utiangue), where he resolved to pass his fourth dreary winter. After this long and unfortunate march, and with his troops so miserably reduced, he determined at last upon the measure, from which his mind had so strongly revolted, of returning to the coast, and seeking reinforcements from Cuba or Mexico. He therefore hastily descended the Washita to its junction with the Red River, and the latter stream to its confluence with the Mississippi, where he found himself in the territory of Guachoya, filled with a brave and numerous population. His men being now reduced to fewer than 500, and his horses, which had formed his chief strength, to forty, he could no longer hope to vanquish in the field a brave, though barbarous foe. He was obliged to employ art, and act on their superstitious impressions by stating that he was the child of the sun; and availing himself of their astonishment at seeing themselves in a mirror, pretended that in that glass he could see whatever they did at any distance, and thus detect any plot which might be formed against him. He was much concerned to learn that the sea was yet far off, and the road thither greatly obstructed by streams and entangled woods. Amid these anxieties and distresses, he was seized with fever, which, not being treated with due attention, closed in a few days his earthly career.

Soto did not merit quite so hard a destiny, though he was one of that bold bad race who, inflamed by the lust of gold, trampled on prostrate America. The unjust and tyrannical principles sanctioned by false views of loyalty and religion, which impelled to these enormities, were in him tempered at once by much prudence and discretion, and also by more than the usual degree of humanity. Had not his aims been frustrated by the nature of the country and the fierce valour of the people, he might have founded a dominion on a better basis than any of the other Spanish conquerors.

The troops, on the death of their commander, were struck with deep alarm. Moscoso, his successor, endeavoured to conceal the event from the Indians, pretending that the general had merely gone up on a visit to heaven, whence he would quickly return. Lest his grave should lead to other conclusions, the body was carried out at midnight into the centre of the great river, and, with a weight attached, sunk to the bottom. The cacique, however, politely intimated his consciousness of the true state of the case by presenting two handsome youths, in order that, their heads being cut off, they might serve the chief in the land of souls. Moscoso, declining this gift, endeavoured still to gain belief for his first statement, though probably with little success. The party, meanwhile, felt themselves seriously called upon to consider their future plans. To reach a Spanish settlement by water, without vessels, pilots, or charts, appearing quite desperate, they determined rather to attempt a march to Mexico, not without a faint hope of discovering some golden region which might compensate all their toils. They pushed, accordingly, about three hundred miles westward, when, after passing a great river, the Colorado de Texas, or the Rio del Norte,* the country became almost a desert, and they could not make themselves understood by the inhabitants. They gave up all hope, and determined, at whatever cost, to return and

* We cannot, with Mr Bancroft, suppose it the Red River, the termination of which was the point whence they had started, and to ascend it would have been retracing their former steps.

descend the Mississippi. On regaining its banks, they had, like Narvaez's party, to perform the tedious task of constructing seven brigantines. But they fortunately had among their number a sawyer, four or five carpenters, a caulker, and a cooper, and these instructed the rest. The jealousy of the Indians, however, led to a confederacy which might have been fatal, had it not been disclosed by the female captives. The rising of the river enabled them to avoid the danger by immediately setting sail; though a numerous fleet of canoes pursued, cut off a detachment, and harassed them during a great part of the voyage. In fifty-two days they arrived, reduced to the number of 311, at the port of Panuco in Mexico, where they were kindly received both by the governor and people. They had marched in four years upwards of five thousand miles, through a savage and hostile region. They had achieved nothing; not having left even a vestige of their route, except the track of blood by which it had been too often stained.

The Spaniards, when refreshed from their toils, began to look around them; and seeing themselves on a desolate shore, and in a state of utter destitution, bitterly lamented that they had quitted fertile regions, where, independently of gold, they might have established a flourishing colony. Schemes of returning were even formed, but which, from want of union, were ultimately relinquished.

These dreadful reverses damped the zeal of Spain to conquer or colonize Florida; but Cancello, a Dominican missionary, who undertook to visit the country with a view to conversion, received ample encouragement from the government. The sinister impression, however, attached to his nation, being extended to every individual of it, he and his companions were put to death. The Spaniards, notwithstanding, continued to claim Florida, and even the whole extent of North America; yet there was not a spot in that vast territory on which one of them dared to set his foot.*

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 67.

CHAPTER III.

French Expeditions.

Francis I.—Expedition under Verazzano—His Fate—Admiral Coligni—He sends out Ribault—Colonists return—René Laudonnière—Settlement formed by him—Pedro Menendez—Employed by Philip II.—Founds St Augustine—His Success and Cruelty—Dominique de Gourgues—His Expedition—Triumph—Return to France.

Francis I., a powerful monarch, ambitious of every kind of glory, was animated also with eager rivalry of Charles V., who derived much lustre from his possessions in the new world. He therefore ardently desired to follow successfully in the same career; and with this view he supplied to Giovanni Verazzano, a noble Florentine, four vessels destined for America. This chief, after being driven back by a storm, was refitted, and engaged in some successful naval operations on the Spanish coast; and it was then determined, that in the Dolphin, with fifty men, provisioned for eight months, he should prosecute his original design of discovery. After encountering a severe tempest, he came, in the middle of March, upon a coast which Mr Bancroft, with great probability, supposes to be that of North Carolina: and having sailed fifty leagues southward in search of a port without success, he turned again towards the north with the same object. He was once more disappointed as to a harbour; but seeing a fine populous country, he landed in boats, and held some friendly intercourse with the natives.*

* The latitude of 34° marks a spot in the vicinity of Cape Fear, North Carolina.

Verazzano.

He next proceeded in an eastern direction along a low coast, where even a boat could not touch; but a sailor swam ashore, and though alarmed by some strange gestures, found the natives kind. A change of course to the northward marks the rounding of Cape Hatteras; and a run of fifty leagues brought him to a fertile region, covered with rich verdure and luxuriant forests. This was Virginia, near the mouth of the Chesapeake, though no mention is made of that great inlet. A sail of 100 leagues in the same direction led to a spacious bay receiving a noble river, evidently the Hudson. They ascended it a short way in boats, and were delighted with its banks. The coast then trended eastward; and after following it fifty leagues, they reached an island of pleasing aspect, which, being of a triangular form, and about the size of Rhodes, clearly appears to be that named Martha's Vine-

yard. The weather prevented his landing; and, fifteen leagues farther, he found a very convenient port, where he had again much satisfaction in communicating with the people. Though the latitude of 41° 40′ be about half a degree too low, it seems impossible not to recognise Boston.* He then made a course of 150 leagues along a country of similar character but somewhat more elevated, without landing at any point. Another stretch of fifty leagues, first west and then north, brought him to a bolder territory (Nova Scotia), covered with dense forests of fir, pine, and other trees of a northern climate. The inhabitants were fiercer, and carried on trade only under jealous precautions. In a subsequent run of the same extent, he discovered thirty small islands, with narrow channels running between them, being such as are known to stud the northern coast of that country and the adjacent one of Cape Breton. Lastly, by sailing 150 leagues farther, he reached in 50° the land discovered by the Britons (Newfoundland or Labrador). His stock of victuals being spent, he here took in water, and returned to France.†

Verazzano, on the 8th July 1524, wrote to the king from Dieppe a narrative of this voyage. Ramusio heard from different quarters that he had submitted to that monarch the plan of a colony; and the general belief is, that he was again employed by him. Mr Biddle, indeed, urges the improbability that, amid the disasters caused by the battle of Pavia in February 1525, Francis could engage in any such undertaking. Down, however, to that fatal day, his career was triumphant; and there was ample time to have authorized another expedition, though there is a total absence of any positive notice on

Mr Bancroft supposes Newport in Rhode Island; but this would imply a retrograde course, and the distance would in no degree correspond.

† This interesting voyage is narrated in greater detail by Mr Tytler in his "Northern Coasts of America" (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX. 1833, p. 42-52). After a collation of the original with Mr Bancroft's suggestions, some modified views have been adopted as to the successive coasts surveyed.

the subject. Ramusio, without mentioning either place or date, states that in his last voyage, having landed with some companions, he was killed by the savages in presence of his crew still on shipboard. In a modern narrative, which, from its full genealogical details, appears to have been furnished by his relatives, Coronelli, an eminent Venetian hydrographer, is quoted, expressing his belief that the catastrophe took place off Cape Breton, in 1525.* In the portrait from which our sketch is taken, the inscription positively bears "Dead in 1525." It was engraved in 1767 after a picture by Zocchi, in the possession of the family, whose opinion is thus decidedly expressed. Yet Tiraboschi† has drawn attention to a letter of Annibal Caro, apparently directed to him when living at Florence in 1537.‡ There seems a mystery round his fate, which we can scarcely now hope to unravel. His descendants probably still continue to enjoy distinction at Florence, having, in 1770, an estate in its vicinity named Verazzano. There is also a portrait of him in the Medicean gallery.

Claims so extensive and so feebly supported as those of Spain to North America were not likely to remain long undisputed. Other European nations were then rapidly advancing in maritime skill and enterprise, among whom for some time France took the lead. The defeat and captivity of the king, followed by a humiliating peace, naturally diverted his mind from distant enterprises, especially such as would have been considered hostile by his rival

* Elogi degli Uomini Illustri Toscani (Lucca, 1771-2), vol. ii. p. 329.

† Storia della Letteratura Italiana, vol. ii. part iii. (1777), pp. 206, 207.

‡ Mr Tytler first pointed out this passage (Northern Coasts, p. 52), and has been followed by Mr Bancroft, vol. i. p. 21. There is, however, a doubt, from the absence of the Christian name, and the expression, "lands discovered by you or *your brother*." There was thus a relative, also an explorer, though of far less eminence, who might have been the person addressed. At the same time, Tiraboschi, who boasts of having been the first who drew attention to this letter of Caro, wrote subsequently to the date both of the print and of the "Elogi."

Charles. The troubles which agitated the country after his death were also unfavourable to such undertakings; nevertheless, the spirit of adventure was cherished among the people, especially the Huguenots, an industrious class, who almost alone raised her commerce and manufactures to a flourishing condition. Rouen, Dieppe, and above all, Rochelle, ranked with the greatest havens in Europe. Admiral Coligni, one of the leaders in that eventful time, formed the scheme of a transatlantic settlement, which might at once extend the resources of his country, and afford an asylum to his Protestant brethren. While the civil war was yet only impending, he enjoyed intervals of favour at court, which enabled him to obtain permission, first to establish one in Brazil; and when that proved unfortunate, to plant another in Florida. He fitted out two vessels in 1562, and placed them under John Ribault of Dieppe, a seaman of experience. The object was to reach the mouth of the river called by Ayllon the Jordan, now Combahee, in South Carolina; but, steering in too low a latitude, the discoverers reached the St John, near St Augustine, in Florida Proper. They were pleased with the aspect of the country; and, sailing northward to their destination, gave to successive rivers the names of the Seine, the Somme, and the Loire, which have not adhered to them. On reaching Port Royal, they were so delighted with its noble harbour, the magnificent trees and beautiful shrubs, that they determined to choose it for the site of their colony. Having seen a fort erected, and the settlement in a promising state, Ribault left twenty-six men, and returned to France for reinforcements and supplies. This seems an imprudent step. The establishment, in its unsettled state, stood in peculiar need of being well governed; whereas it fell into the hands of Albert, a rash and tyrannical officer, who, finding it difficult to maintain authority, where all thought themselves nearly equal, enforced it in the most violent manner. He addressed them in opprobrious language; hanged one of them with his own hand, and threatened others with

the same fate. At length they rose in mutiny, put him to death, and appointed a new commander, Nicolas Barre, who restored tranquillity.

Ribault, meantime, in consequence of the breaking out of the great civil war, was unable to make good his expectations and promises. After long waiting for him, the colonists were seized with an extreme desire to return to their native country; and, having no ship, they, like the companions of Narvaez and Moscoso, resolved to build one for themselves. The country afforded somewhat better materials, and they constructed a brigantine fit for the passage; but in their impatience, they laid in a slender stock of provisions, which, during the delay of a tedious calm, was entirely consumed. The last extremities of famine were suffered; and one had been actually sacrificed to preserve the rest, when an English vessel appeared, and received them on board.

The project, though seemingly abandoned, was still cherished by Coligni; and the assassination of the Duke of Guise having been followed by a peace, during which the court endeavoured to sooth the Huguenots, he obtained permission to attempt it on an enlarged scale. In 1564, he succeeded in fitting out three vessels, abundantly supplied, and gave the command to René Laudonniere, an able officer who had accompanied Ribault. Taking a circuitous course by the Canaries and the West Indies, he made for Florida, which he chose to term New France; and at Ribault's first station on the river St John (named May from the month of its discovery), the party resolved to stop and settle. The fort of La Carolina was erected, and expeditions sent up the river, where small quantities of gold and silver were seen; reports being also received as to the mountainous country in the interior, where these metals abounded. The hopes thus kindled were quite illusory, and diverted attention from the solid labours of agriculture. Alarming symptoms of insubordination appeared; many of the party, notwithstanding their religious profession, were of a reckless character, and had gone out

with the most chimerical hopes of suddenly realizing a large fortune. Seeing no such prospect, they formed the criminal resolution of seeking it by piracy. They confined their commander, and extorted from him, by threats of immediate death, a commission to follow this unlawful vocation; while, by rifling his stores, they obtained materials for its prosecution. After various fortune, they were successful in capturing a vessel, richly laden, and having the governor of Jamaica on board. Hoping for a large ransom, they sailed to the island, and unguardedly allowed him to send messengers to his wife; through whom he conveyed a secret intimation, in consequence of which an armed force surrounded the pirates, captured the larger of their vessels, while the other escaped by cutting her cables. Those on board the latter being reduced to extremity from want of food, were obliged to return to the settlement, where Laudonniere condemned four of the ringleaders to be executed.

That chief meantime continued to make incursions to the interior, and entered into various transactions with the natives in the vain hope of arriving at some region rich in gold and silver. Neglecting to establish themselves on the solid basis of agriculture, the settlers depended for food on the Indians, whose own stock was scanty. They were therefore obliged to undertake long journeys, without obtaining a full supply; and the natives, seeing them thus straitened, raised the price, disdainfully telling them to eat their goods, if they did not choose to give them for grain and fish. Amid these sufferings, and no prospect of realizing their fond dreams of wealth, they were seized, as was usual, with the ardent desire of returning home, and shrunk not from the laborious task of constructing vessels for that purpose. Amid their painful labour, they were cheered by a visit from Sir John Hawkins, who gave them a liberal supply of provisions. They did not, however, intermit their task, and on the 28th August 1565 were on the point of sailing, when several ships were descried approaching; which proved to be a new expe-

dition, under Ribault, sent to supersede Laudonniere, of whose severity complaints had been made. He brought a numerous reinforcement, with ample supplies, which induced the colonists to remain; but they were soon exposed to a dreadful calamity.

The desire of conquering Florida, which had never become extinct in Spain, now called forth a new adventurer in the person of Don Pedro Menendez, who, having served with distinction and accumulated wealth both in Holland and America, had there also learned the lessons of cruel bigotry. He became amenable to the sentence of a military tribunal, which, however, on account of previous reputation, was leniently executed; and to retrieve his honour, he undertook to equip, at his own expense, an expedition to Florida, of which he was appointed governor. While his preparations were in progress, Philip II., having received intelligence of the Huguenot settlement, pointed out to him, as a still more glorious task, that of rooting out the heretics from Spanish America; and to enable him to accomplish this object, 300 troops were added to his armament. Menendez sailed from San Lucar with eleven ships and 1000 men; and such was the enthusiasm kindled for this "holy war," that on his reaching the Canaries the number had swelled to 2600. Notwithstanding some severe losses by shipwreck, he reached the coast of Florida, where falling in with three French vessels, and being questioned as to his intentions, he replied, with a fiery zeal, untempered by prudence, that he was come to extirpate the Protestants out of the country. The French hereupon cut their cables, and regained the port with all speed; but Menendez, having reconnoitred their position, and considering an immediate landing impracticable, repaired to the neighbouring river of St Augustine. He there founded a settlement, considered by Mr Bancroft the oldest town now in the United States, and forthwith prepared for hostile operations.*

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 308-350. Bancroft, p. 68-77.

Ribault, on learning the arrival of this formidable enemy, thought it most advisable to become the assailant without delay, before they could fortify their position. This conduct has been censured, but perhaps too much with reference to the fatal event. Leaving Laudonniere with eighty-five men in the fort, he sailed on the 8th September, and arrived on the 10th at the mouth of the St Augustine; but was there overtaken by a tremendous storm, which drove him far out to sea. Menendez, concluding that this expedition must have comprised the flower of the French troops, and that those left in the fort were few in number, hastily formed the resolution to attack them. Selecting 500 of his best men, he led them across a wild country, intersected by broad streams, swamps, and forests, encouraging them to proceed by an appeal to all the sentiments of honour and religion. On the fourth evening the place was descried, but the night was spent in the neighbourhood, amid a dreadful tempest, which, while it inflicted severe suffering, also lulled the enemy's suspicions. At daybreak the three gates of the fort were seen open, and only a single Frenchman outside, who was lured into the camp, and killed. Menendez then ordered his followers to rush forward, and enter before any discovery could be made. But a soldier, chancing to be on the rampart, gave the alarm; though before Laudonniere could be roused, the enemy were in the fort, and had commenced an indiscriminate massacre. That chief, with several companions, leaped from the wall, ran into the woods, and, after wandering some time, found a little bark, in which, under severe want and imminent perils, they made their way to Bristol. Spanish writers assert, that after the slaughter had continued some time, an order was issued to spare the women and children, and that, while two hundred perished, seventy were saved.

Ribault meanwhile, after being driven out to sea, saw his vessels completely wrecked among the rocks in the Bahama Channel.** He escaped on shore with nearly all his men; but their condition was most deplorable, and

in endeavouring to reach their settlement by a march of 300 miles through a barren country, the most extreme hardships were endured. At length, on the ninth day, they beheld the river, and the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay to see on the ramparts Spanish colours flying! Their leader made a solemn pause before he could resolve to place any trust in men known to be imbued with the most ferocious bigotry. Seeing however no other hope, he sent two of the party to represent that their sovereigns were at peace; that, agreeably to instructions, they had strictly avoided interfering with any of their settlements; they asked only food, and a vessel to convey them home. Their reception is very differently reported. According to the French it was most kind, and ample pledges of safety were given. The Spaniards, on the contrary, allege that Menendez acquainted them with his object, and the bloody treatment he had given to their countrymen; but added, that if they would lay down their arms, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them whatever God in his grace might suggest. We cannot however believe that without some more positive pledge, Ribault would have agreed to surrender. Having delivered their arms, his men were conveyed across the river by thirty at a time. They were dismayed to find themselves bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs; but this, they were assured, was only a temporary precaution. At length they were drawn up in front of the castle, when the Spanish chief with his sword drew a line round them on the sand, and on a signal given, the soldiers commenced the work of slaughter, with every excess of cruelty and indignity; the military band playing the whole time to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying. Ribault, amid vain remonstrances, was struck in the back and fell, covered with wounds. When the work of blood was finished, the assassins suspended to a tree a number of the mangled limbs, attaching the

inscription, "Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."*

This dismal tragedy, when announced in France, gave birth to a mingled sentiment of grief and rage, accompanied by a loud cry for vengeance. These feelings were the more deep among the Huguenots, from the suspicion that they were not shared by the sovereign Charles IX., who was closely united with Philip in relentless enmity to the Protestant name. Yet a remonstrance was presented from 1500 widows and orphans, calling on him to avenge this dreadful deed, and vindicate the honour of his country. The king made only formal remonstrances, and accepted a superficial apology; but there was a spirit in the nation itself which, independently of his will, provided the means of punishment.

Dominique de Gourgues was universally distinguished in that age as a daring warrior. He had fought successfully both against the Spaniards and Turks, by the former of whom he had been held some time a prisoner, treated with the utmost indignity, and compelled to work as a galley slave. On receiving intelligence of the Floridan catastrophe, his own wrongs, together with those of his countrymen, took full possession of his mind; and he devoted his whole energies to the work of vengeance. By selling his little property, and borrowing from friends, he equipped three ships, with 230 soldiers and sailors, mostly chosen adherents, who had often conquered along with him. Carefully concealing his object, he obtained a license for the slave trade, and sailed on the 22d August 1567; but on approaching the Cape de Verd islands, he changed his course, and stood across the Atlantic. It was not before reaching the western point of Cuba, that he unfolded to the whole party their dreadful destination. Some were

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De Gallorum Expeditione in Floridam (appended to Benzo's Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ, Calvetone, 1581), p. 463-470. Cardenas, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 68-76. Bancroft, pp. 80, 81.

disposed to shrink; but, being persuaded by the rest, they at length joined in a unanimous consent.

De Gourgues, in sailing along the coast of Florida, passed imprudently near to San Matheo, of which he was warned by his squadron, who had found themselves saluted as Spaniards; whereupon he hastened to another river fifteen leagues distant, and landed as secretly as possible. Finding the natives as usual imbued with deadly hostility towards the subjects of Philip, he engaged their co-operation; and learning that the enemy had built two small forts, he made a rapid march and spent the night at a short distance from them. In the morning, he was alarmed to see the whole garrison in motion on the ramparts; but they had assembled from some accidental cause, and soon withdrew. The French then advanced through a thick wood, which brought them almost close to one of the smaller forts. On emerging from the forest they were seen, the alarm was given, and two guns fired; but, rushing forward with wild impetuosity, they scaled the ramparts, an Indian chief being foremost. The garrison, seized with terror, ran out in every direction, and were nearly all killed or taken. Those in the next station followed their example and soon shared their fate; but the main fortress was still untouched, and defended by troops far more numerous than the assailants. A small party, however, having rashly sallied out, were surrounded and nearly cut off; whereupon the whole body, struck with the general panic, at once abandoned their stronghold, and sought safety in the woods. Being eagerly pursued, most of them were taken; and De Gourgues had given strict orders to bring in as many alive as possible. He then led them all together to the fatal tree on which the remains of his slaughtered countrymen yet hung, and having upbraided them in the strongest terms for their treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all; suspending a number of their bodies on the same trunk, and substituting the following inscription:—"Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers,

and murderers." Had this execution been confined to a few of the ringleaders, it might have been held as a just retribution; but being inflicted on so large a scale, it almost rivalled the atrocity which it was meant to avenge.

De Gourgues had not come with any intention of settlement. Embarking, therefore, with whatever was valuable in the forts, he sailed for Rochelle, and was received in that Protestant capital with the loudest acclamations. His reception at Bordeaux was equally flattering; but it was very different at Paris, where Charles showed no little inclination to transmit his head to Philip, who loudly demanded it. Steps were even taken for bringing him to trial; but they were found so excessively unpopular, that it was deemed expedient to withdraw them, and allow him to retire into Normandy.*

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 355-360. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, vol. xiii. p. 448-458.

CHAPTER IV.

Settlement of Virginia.

Maritime Enterprise under Elizabeth—Sir Walter Raleigh—First Expedition under Amadas and Barlow—Lane—White—Unfortunate Events—Voyage of Gosnold—Pring—Formation of two great chartered Companies—First Voyage of the Virginia Company—Captain John Smith—Great Vicissitudes in the Colony—Captivity of Smith—His wonderful Preservation—Newport—Smith's Voyage round the Chesapeake—Various Transactions—Extension of the Company's Charter—Smith leaves Virginia—Sufferings of the Colony—Efforts in its Support—The Princess Pocahontas—Advances of the Settlement—Introduction of Tobacco—Various Governors—A representative Assembly—Numerous Settlers sent out by the Company—Dreadful Massacre by the Indians—James I. invades the Company's Privileges—Their Charter forfeited—Government of Harvey—Of Sir William Berkeley—Indian War—General State and Progress of the Colony—Government under the Long Parliament—Change at the Restoration—Navigation Act—Bacon's Rebellion—Governments of Culpepper, Effingham, Andros, Nicholson, and Spotswood.

BRITAIN, notwithstanding the claims derived from the important discovery of Cabot, held, for a long time, by no means the foremost place in American colonization. She was surpassed, not by Spain only, but even by France. Through the voyages of Verazzano, Cartier, Champlain, and others, the latter kingdom acquired extensive claims, and formed some important settlements. But the long civil war, ending in the humiliation and downfal of the protestants, who were almost exclusively skilled in commerce and navigation, threw her greatly

behind in this career; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts at a later period, she never could rank as a first-rate colonial power. But England, during the reign of Elizabeth, while the two other nations were dormant or sinking, made extraordinary movements, and advanced with rapid steps to that pre-eminence which she has so signally maintained. The queen indeed, frugal and cautious, expended little of her own treasure; but she had the skill to attract, and direct to her own purposes, the vast resources of her subjects. Great exertions were made by individuals and associations, including many of those eminent characters who distinguished that age. Their attention was for a long time engrossed by a northern passage to the East Indies round America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert first attempted colonization on a great scale; but his expedition, directed to more northerly coasts, does not come within our present range, while its disastrous issue was calculated to deter future adventurers.*

Sir Walter Raleigh, however, undertook to found a colony, which has become the most flourishing in modern times. In 1584, he obtained from Elizabeth a patent, conferring those almost regal privileges which were never denied to any one who adventured his fortune in colonial undertakings. He, and his heirs for ever, were to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy all such remote heathen and barbarous lands as he should discover; he might capture any vessel that attempted to trade thither without his license, unless driven by stress of weather, or engaged in the Newfoundland fishery; and in short, no reservation was made, except the fifth part of the gold and silver which might be obtained.

Sir Walter determined to direct his attention to a more southern and fertile region than that which had proved so fatal to his predecessor. He did not go in person, but sent, in the first instance, a small exploratory

* Historical and Descriptive Account of British America, vol. ii. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Nos XXV. XXVI. XXVII.)

expedition of two vessels, under Amadas and Barlow, officers of merit. They sailed in April 1584, and, following his views, pursued their course by the Canaries and West Indies. Thence, bending northward, on the 4th July they came upon the coast of Carolina, and were enchanted by the delicious fragrance which breathed from it. They were obliged to sail 120 miles before finding any appearance of a harbour; the coast proved low and sandy; but green hills rose in the interior, and vines grew in a profusion which they had never seen equalled in Europe. At length they ventured to land upon Wokokon, near Ocracock inlet, which opens into Pamlico Sound; when, on mounting a hill, they found with surprise that they had been traversing, not the continent, but the exterior shore of long narrow islands. For two days no inhabitant was seen; but on the third, one appeared walking on the beach. He was invited on board, and, being treated with victuals and wine, departed with every appearance of satisfaction. On his report, others followed; and at length there arrived no less a person than Granganimeo, the king's brother, with about fifty attendants. They stood round him in reverent and deep silence, only broken by whispers from four chiefs, wearing headdresses of red copper. The audience began with presents, all of which, the prince intimated, must be delivered to himself; and this was followed by traffic, in which they could offer a number of valuable skins. The great man's eye was caught by a tin dish, which, suspended across his breast, was expected to form an amulet against all his enemies. For this trifling article he cheerfully gave twenty skins, each worth about a noble. A copper kettle brought fifty; so that the trade proved most profitable to the English. On the island of Roanoke, they went to visit Granganimeo, who was absent, but his wife gave them a most hospitable reception. After exploring the neighbouring coasts and sounds, the navigators returned home in September, with two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, giving a most flattering account of the country and

people. They declared the soil to be "the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world;" the people "most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age."*

These reports kindled all that enthusiasm which naturally arises on any discovery begetting vague and brilliant hopes. Raleigh expended nearly his whole fortune in fitting out seven vessels, which were easily filled with emigrants, to the number of 108. None of the ships, indeed, exceeded 140 tons, and three were mere boats. The command was given to Sir Richard Grenville, one of the brightest ornaments of that age of gallantry, and surnamed "The Brave." The fleet sailed early in April; but having again taken the circuitous route of the West Indies, did not reach its destination till the end of June. The crews landed, and undertook an excursion into the interior, where they were as before well received; but the foundation of future enmity was laid, when, on account of the disappearance of a silver cup, a village was burned, and the grain removed. In August, Grenville, who had merely undertaken to conduct the naval armament, departed for England, leaving as permanent governor Ralph Lane, a brave officer, but wanting, it should seem, that consummate prudence and discretion, so necessary in the management of a new colony.

The party seem to have arrived with high expectations, but without any fixed plan; and the last thing thought of was to take up the axe or the plough, though the only sure mode of obtaining even a subsistence. Gems and metallic wealth were always the objects that glittered before them. Lane, by some means which he does not choose to explain, had held as a captive Menatonon, one of the most powerful princes, whom he did not dismiss without a large ransom. From him and others accounts were received of a country in the interior, abounding

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243-249.

in rich pearls, probably the same brilliant shells that misled Soto; also of a wonderful metal resembling copper, but softer and paler, and which was formed into ornamental plates. This was probably no other than the gold of central Carolina; but Lane, even without suspecting this, proceeded with a chosen body to ascend the Roanoke. The Indians allured him by promises of aid, and of having supplies of food at regular stations; and though his own conduct might well have led him to doubt their sincerity, he seems to have suspected nothing. The party continued three days to ascend the river, delighted with its spacious and noble expanse; but during this time neither Indians nor provisions were seen, and all the villages were deserted. He then observed to his men, that they had barely sustenance sufficient to enable them to regain the settlement; but they, buoyed up by wild expectations, entreated to be led onward, representing, that they had two mastiffs which, when killed, and their flesh made into soup with sassafras leaves, would keep them alive some time. They sailed onward, amid desolation as deep as ever, till it began to be broken by lights moving to and fro in the woods. Suddenly, from their depth, a voice was heard, calling on Manteo, their domesticated Indian, who immediately entreated them to be on their guard. Presently a shower of arrows fell around the vessel, though happily without material injury. An eager pursuit was commenced; but the enemy had "wooded themselves," and could nowhere be traced. There was then no option but to return; and Lane warned his party that they must betake themselves to their "dog's porridge, which they had bespoken." They could not refuse, yet doubts are intimated whether a dish so unsavoury had ever been set before human beings.

They returned just in time to prevent a general attack upon the settlement. The report was spread, that their God having no power, had suffered them all to be either killed or starved, which last statement is acknowledged to have approached very nearly to the truth. Their re-

appearance suspended these views, and restored confidence to the small party of their friends. Soon, however, the national enmity broke forth in a general conspiracy, at the head of which was Wingina or Pemisapan, the most powerful of the caciques. They had agreed to refrain from sowing the adjacent grounds, to destroy the fishing wears, and thereby to reduce the invaders to starvation. It was ultimately resolved to make a grand attack in the night, for which large bodies were secretly collected; and the design, being veiled under a show of the most ardent friendship, deceived the English. But the captive prince, notwithstanding his wrongs, having been extremely well treated, had become attached to them, and made the disclosure. Lane, having earned both the destined time and place, resolved to be beforehand with them; but they, "privy to their own villanous purposes, held good espial." Both parties flew to arms; and the Indians, after losing a few men, fled into the woods. The European, however, determined not to be outdone in treachery. Pretending not to be aware of Pemisapan's concern in the affair, he solicited an interview, as if to lay before him his complaints against the others. The savage came accordingly, when, on a signal given, our countrymen discharged their pieces upon him and his followers. The chief, though wounded, fled with rapidity, but being hotly pursued, his head was brought to the commander.

The immediate danger was thus averted; but the enmity of the natives was henceforth unappeasable, and the strangers began seriously to ponder their situation. Of their golden dreams they saw no prospect or chance of fulfilment, while absolute want stared them in the face; the supplies promised at Easter had not arrived in June; and they were in momentary dread of perishing either by famine or the arrows of the savages. Amid these dispositions a fleet of twenty-three vessels was seen in the offing; and after some alarm lest it should prove a hostile squadron, the joyful announcement was made, of its being that of Sir Francis

Drake, returning from his victorious expedition against the Spanish main. That gallant officer readily agreed to give them a store of provisions, a sloop of seventy tons, and other small craft, with which they might either explore the coasts or return to England; the latter, it is probable, being the real object. A violent storm, however, destroyed these vessels, thus defeating the arrangement; and Lane, upon the earnest entreaty of the settlers, contented himself with obtaining a place on board the fleet, by which he and his adventurers might be conveyed home.

The conclusion that Raleigh had deserted them was quite unfounded. A few days after this hasty departure, there arrived a brig of 100 tons, provided with every thing needful for their wants; but to the utter amazement of the crew, there were no colonists to supply. After sailing about some time, and satisfying themselves of the fact, they too returned to Europe. This was another hasty step; for a fortnight had not elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared, bringing three well-appointed ships, laden with every means of supporting and enlarging the colony. His dismay may be conceived when neither the vessel previously despatched, nor one Englishman, could be found within those savage precincts. He therefore left merely fifteen men to erect a fort, and keep a certain hold of the country till farther reinforcements could be sent out.*

All this complication of failure, blunder, and disaster did not yet discourage Raleigh. In April of the following year, he fitted out a new expedition of three ships, and 150 persons, led by John White, who was appointed governor, with twelve assistants, who also perhaps contributed to the expense. Attempts were made to establish it on a somewhat more solid footing. Implements of agriculture were provided; several families went out, and the party, including seventeen females and nine boys, arrived in July, and proceeded to the

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 251-265.

former settlement. Here a dreadful scene met their eyes; the fort was rased to the ground; the houses, though still standing, were open and tenantless; the floors overgrown with shrubs and weeds, on which deer were feeding. The bones of one man lay scattered on the ground; while of the rest not a trace remained. After anxious inquiry, it was found that a band of Indians had surprised and burnt the fort, when the English, rushing out to save themselves, were either killed or chased into the woods, where they soon perished.

White began by soliciting from the Indian chiefs a renewal of their former alliance, promising the most friendly treatment, and that every thing which had passed should be forgiven. They announced that an answer would be returned in seven days; and when the time elapsed without its being fulfilled, he determined on a hostile expedition. Led by Manteo, he attacked a party, and drove them into the forest; but was dismayed to find that by mistake he had fallen upon one of the few friendly tribes. He then relinquished farther proceedings; but all hope of conciliatory arrangements was lost.

As winter approached, and the vessel was about to return to Europe, the colonists began seriously to view their situation. They could look for nothing from the Indians but the most deadly hostility, while the raising of supplies for themselves was a work of time and uncertainty. They therefore joined in an earnest entreaty to White, that he would accompany the ship, and exert himself in bringing to them further aid and support. He strongly objected, on the ground that it would have the appearance as if he were deserting his own colony; but they insisted, and having delivered a written testimony, signed and sealed, stating that the proposal came from themselves, he consented. There had been born to him during his residence a granddaughter, Virginia Dare, who is supposed by Mr Bancroft to be the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States.

White returned at an unfortunate crisis, when the whole nation was engrossed by preparations to meet the Spanish armada. Sir Richard Grenville, while making ready to sail to Virginia, was detained for this more important service. Yet Raleigh contrived to furnish the other with two well-provided vessels; but that officer imprudently going out of his way in search of prizes, in which he was ultimately unsuccessful, had his ships severely damaged, and was obliged to return. This was succeeded by the actual arrival of the grand armament in the Channel, which for a season banished every other thought.

Even after this eventful period of danger and triumph, the colony sustained another severe loss. Raleigh having spent £40,000, nearly his whole fortune, and encountered only a series of disaster, without any immediate benefit or sure prospect, determined to turn his attention to other objects. He found an association who, on having his privileges transferred to them, undertook the charge of supporting the settlement; and yet, through the delays incident to the change, White could not be fitted out till 1590. He sailed in May; but, in consequence of adverse winds, did not reach Roanoke till the middle of August. Again the colony was in a state of utter desolation; though there appeared reason to hope that it had removed to a more favourable site formerly projected. This was the island of Croatoan, fifty miles distant, in which Manteo resided, and where they had met a most friendly reception. In that event it had been stipulated that the letters C R O should be carved on the bark of a tree, which were found, and elsewhere the full name Croatoan. A cross was to have indicated a disastrous removal: and this sign of evil was absent. Chests with various stores had been buried in the earth; some were entire; others had been discovered and rifled by the Indians. On the whole, White concluded that all was well, and began to steer for the new station; but meeting with some difficulties, and the season being advanced, it was very coolly resolved to

make for the West Indies, trade there, and touch at the colony on his return home. After coming out into the open ocean, the wind was so adverse to his proposed course, and so favourable to that for Britain, that the latter was adopted, and he arrived at home in October.

It is difficult to acquit this officer of culpable apathy, especially where his own near relations were concerned. He alleges indeed, in a letter to Hakluyt, that he had not due control over the expedition, which was guided in a manner contrary to his wishes; yet no such intimation is given in his original and detailed narrative. He appears never to have made any farther inquiry; and, in fact, the nation itself showed a most shameful indifference. Raleigh alone felt deeply concerned in the fate of his colony, sending, it is said, five different vessels, the last in 1602; but they performed their duty ill, and all returned without reaching the spot. No intelligence was ever received or trace found of this unfortunate settlement. A conjecture has been hazarded, that having formed a friendly union with an Indian tribe named Hatteras, the two nations became amalgamated; and this inference has been thought to derive some confirmation from the physical character of the people, though it is not supported by any positive information or even tradition.*

It would not be easy to find a parallel to this series of abortive and disastrous expeditions; for after so many successive colonies, and such lavish expenditure, not a trace was discoverable that an Englishman had ever set foot on the soil of Virginia. It can scarcely therefore be considered a reflection on British enterprise that it should for some time have paused: and yet, by an elastic power, it soon rose again from under the deepest depression. In 1602, a vessel sailed, under Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, with thirty-two men, twelve of whom intended to settle. Striking directly across the ocean, he came upon the coast of Massachusetts; and

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 280-295. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 117-123.

after sailing onward some time, reached a bold promontory which, from the great quantity of fish caught in the vicinity, he named Cape Cod; and it has ever formed a conspicuous point on the American continent. The crew, having merely touched the shores of New England, began to "trend the coast southerly," and after passing some dangerous spots, named Tucker's Terror, Point Care, and other promontories, they reached a large island which they called Martha's Vineyard. Having landed, they were pleased with its aspect, yet sailed on till they entered Buzzard's Bay, adjoining Rhode Island, which, appearing one of the stateliest sounds ever seen, received the name of Gosnold's Hope. Elizabeth's Island, within its circuit, was chosen as a desirable place of settlement. The soil was clothed with noble trees, and with underwood, which, among other valuable plants, included sassafras, then esteemed a medicine of sovereign virtue. Some pulse being sown, grew in a fortnight to half a foot. They debarked on the mainland, which appeared "the goodliest they ever saw, replenished with fair fields." Having erected a fort, and collected a cargo, chiefly of sassafras, they prepared to return; but at this crisis the intending colonists were struck with panic at the idea of being left with only a small stock of provisions on this remote and savage shore, not without a fear that the vessel might never return, and, like former settlers, they might be abandoned to their fate. Their companions, too, would thus escape all responsibility for their share of the cargo. Under these apprehensions they abandoned the idea of remaining, and went on board with the rest.*

Although this expedition did not issue in settlement, it renewed a favourable impression respecting American colonization. Hakluyt, the indefatigable promoter of discovery, prevailed upon several merchants of Bristol to equip two small vessels; and Raleigh, who still held the patent extending over all this coast, being asked for

* Purchas, part iv. p. 1647-1653.

his consent, readily gave it signed and sealed. Two ships of fifty and twenty-six tons respectively were placed under Martin Pring, who, sailing by the Azores, came upon the shores of Maine, in 43° N. lat., near the bay of Penobscot. The coast was fruitful; but as it yielded little sassafras, he proceeded southwards till he came into the track of Gosnold, which he followed to a bay in lat. 41°, where there was an abundant supply of that favourite plant. The first intercourse with the Indians was friendly; but afterwards alarm was taken at their coming armed in large numbers, with a threatening aspect. Pring confirmed the favourable account of the country given by his predecessor.*

Circumstances now appeared so promising as to influence individuals of the highest distinction. The Earl of Southampton, one of the most accomplished noblemen of the age, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, fitted out George Weymouth, who had already, in searching for the north-west passage, made some discoveries on the coast of Labrador. Sailing on the last day of March 1605, on the 13th of May he fell in with the American coast in about 41°; but, to avoid dangerous rocks and shoals, he stood out again to sea. His object was to go southward, but the wind drove him considerably to the north. Being then in want of wood and water, he stood in for the land; but found the charts extremely erroneous, and after proceeding fifty leagues, he saw himself in the midst of those small islands which stud the bay of Penobscot. At one of them, in a most commodious harbour, he left the ship, and in the pinnace ascended the bay, till he reached the mouth of a large river. The party rowed up twenty miles, and thought it the finest they had ever seen. Some companions of Sir Walter Raleigh considered that even the mighty Orinoco could not stand a comparison with it. It was navigable for vessels drawing sixteen or eighteen feet water, and completely free from rocks and shoals. The shore

* Purchas, part iv. pp. 1654, 1658.

was covered with fine forests, chiefly of pine; and the coast was level, though high mountains appeared in the interior. They held friendly intercourse with a number of the natives, and obtained valuable furs at cheap rates. These people were astonished and awed by the action of the loadstone; but appearing afterwards in rather alarming numbers, they gave an invitation to land in a manner so suspicious, that Weymouth rejoiced "that God gave him so much understanding as to avoid their snares." We cannot but remark that no unequivocal act of hostility was committed; but five of them were enticed on board, and with their canoe carried to England.*

This series of voyages conveyed to Britain a much higher idea than had yet been entertained of her transatlantic dominion. It was found to include a range of territory stretching over eleven degrees of latitude, all in the temperate climates, diversified with noble rivers and harbours, and, wherever visited, displaying a luxuriant fertility. This prospect rekindled all the enthusiasm of enterprise and hopes of wealth. An Association was formed by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Wingfield, Popham, with other men of rank and eminent merchants, for the purpose of colonizing this vast region. James I., who was fond of such undertakings, and had employed them successfully for the improvement of some ruder parts of Scotland and Ireland, was ready to give every encouragement. The adventurers were divided into two Companies; the one from London for the southern, the other from Bristol and the west for the northern parts of Virginia. The former were allowed to choose any spot between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of latitude; the latter between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth. Three degrees were thus common between both; but collision was prevented by enacting that wherever one had fixed its seat, the other should choose theirs at least 100 miles distant. From that first station each company was to possess

* Purchas, part iv. p. 1659-1666.

fifty miles of coast on each side; their territory was thence to stretch the same distance inland, and the same out to sea, including all islands within the range.* These terms deserve notice, as they seem to have been much misapprehended by Chalmers, Bancroft, and indeed most other writers. The coast was not divided between the companies, nor had either an exclusive right to their own portions beyond the space of 100 miles square, which they were allowed to choose. This may serve to acquit successive princes of the repeated infractions of the charter with which they have been charged. Within this range the Associations obtained full property in all the lands, natural resources and objects of every kind, with only the usual exception of a fifth of the gold and a fifteenth of the copper. The revenue produced by fines and light import-duties was to be enjoyed by them for twenty-one years, after which it was to be paid into the royal treasury. They were not, however, invested with those kingly attributes which had been lavished on Gilbert and Raleigh. James lodged the government in two councils, one resident in England, the other in the colony, and claimed the right of appointing both; but, having exercised it in regard to the first, he allowed them to nominate the Virginian members. He busied himself moreover in preparing a code of "orders and instructions," a proceeding, as Mr Chalmers observes, decidedly unconstitutional, but controverted by no one. The colonists and their posterity were declared English subjects, yet were invested with no political rights, not even trial by jury, unless in capital charges; minor offences were punished arbitrarily by the council. The English church was exclusively established. Strict and laudable injunctions were given for the mild and equitable treatment of the natives.†

The year 1606 was spent in collecting funds and adven-

* Purchas, part iv. pp. 1683, 1684. Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, by George Chalmers, Esq., Lond. 1780, pp. 13, 14. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 135-138.

† Chalmers, pp. 15, 16.

Captain John Smith.

turers, which last amounted then to 105, including persons of distinction, particularly George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. There were also Gosnold and Mr Hunt a clergyman, while Captain Newport, an officer of skill and experience, undertook the naval command. But the individual destined to exercise the happiest influence on the new colony was Captain John Smith, who already, in the Turkish war, had displayed a firmness and intrepidity peculiarly fitting him for this arduous appointment. The fleet of three vessels, none exceeding 100 tons, sailed from London on the 19th December, taking again the circuitous route of the West Indies, rendered necessary perhaps through the lateness of the season. The arrangements, however, had been injudicious. James, by a ridiculous caprice, had caused the names and instructions of the council to be enclosed in a box, not to be opened till after the arrival in Vir-

ginia; and thus the crew, in going out, knew not whom to obey. The energy of Smith, with his frank and manly bearing, soon led them to recognise him as their leader. This was envied by others higher in rank, who charged him with a design to set aside the council, to usurp the government, and to become king. On these unsupported charges he was arrested, and confined during the voyage, and for some time longer; so that his services, when most wanted, were lost to the colony.

The expedition did not reach the coast of America till April 1607, and in making for Roanoke, a violent tempest drove them quite out of their reckoning. Being tossed about several days without sight of land, they became despondent, and some even urged a return to England. Suddenly they came in view of an unknown promontory, which marked the entrance into a spacious gulf. This was the magnificent opening of the Chesapeake, the opposite capes of which were named after the young princes, Henry and Charles. The view of this coast at once dispelled their gloom, and made them rejoice in their enforced change of direction. "They were almost ravished at the sight thereof.—It seemed to them to claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world. Heaven and earth seem never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." They soon reached a noble river, which they named James, and after ascending and examining its shores during seventeen days, they chose for their colony a spot fifty miles up, and called it Jamestown. The difficulties of treating with the natives soon began. The very first night "came the savages creeping upon all-fours from the hills, like bears, with their bows in their mouths." These they discharged against the strangers and wounded two; but as soon as "they had felt the sharpness of our shot" they retreated with loud cries into the woods. Afterwards five, who were met near Cape Henry, though showing some signs of fear, were reassured by seeing "the captain lay his hand on his heart," and invite them across the river to the town.

Their welcome was singularly expressed "by a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails." Mats were then spread on the ground, and covered with maize-bread, while tobacco was presented, with long ornamented pipes. They then danced for the amusement of their guests, shouting, howling, and stamping, "with many antic tricks and faces, making noise like so many wolves or devils." Our countrymen received a pressing invitation from a great Indian chief, the Werrowannee of Rappahana, whom they found rich in rude ornament, his person painted red and blue, with various embellishments, seemingly of pearl and silver, and a metal which was either copper or gold. "He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a prince of civil government." His palace, on a hill watered by fine springs, was surrounded by as rich corn-fields as they had ever seen.*

As soon as the party had landed, the box of instructions was opened, and the names of the council were found, including Smith; who, though he was kept out by the jealousy of his rivals, nevertheless accompanied Newport up the river, as high as the great falls, where they visited Powhatan, a sort of petty emperor over all the surrounding tribes. Smith reckons them at 7000, of whom nearly 2000 were warriors; but he never saw more than 700 together. Powhatan received them well; and when some of his people murmured at the land being thus occupied by a party of strangers, he replied, it was only waste ground, and, so long as they injured no one, they were welcome.

On their return to Jamestown affairs were found in evil plight. The colonists, not we fear without blame, had incurred the hostility of the savages, while they neglected to fortify their position. A general attack, which was made, was repulsed with great difficulty,

* Purchas, part iv. pp. 1686, 1687, 1705. Hillard's Life of Smith, in Sparks's American Biography, vol. ii. p. 209, &c.

seventeen being wounded, and one boy killed. By great exertion, about the middle of June, a palisaded fort was erected, secure against those rude assailants, who, however, continued to hover round, cutting off stragglers, and obliging the settlers to keep constant watch. The charges against Smith were still pressed, and a party wished to send him to England ; but he, loudly demanding a trial on the spot, was supported by a majority of the colonists. He was triumphantly acquitted, and Wingfield, his accuser, condemned to pay him a fine of £200, which he generously threw into the common stock. Mr Hunt, the clergyman, succeeded in producing at least an appearance of harmony, cemented by partaking together the Christian communion.

On the 15th June, Newport with the vessels sailed for Britain, leaving the settlers in the midst of that vast wilderness which they had undertaken to cultivate. In this situation the brilliant hopes which had lured them thither quickly vanished. The fruitfulness of the soil indeed fully equalled expectation ; but all the machinery by which it could be made capable of producing individual wealth was still to be created. The land required not only a laborious culture, for which they were little prepared ; but a still harder task remained, that of hewing down the forest which covered the whole of it. By an unhappy arrangement, all the produce for the first five years was to be in common, and distributed by the council according to their respective wants. But, as Chalmers shrewdly observes, " when men are not to profit, they will labour little ; and when all are fed from a common granary, few will concern themselves how it is filled." Raising scarcely any crop the first year, they were dependent on the supplies from home, which had been much diminished during the long voyage, and are alleged to have been originally of inferior quality. A slender allowance of this unwholesome food, bad river-water, and exposure to a new climate, soon spread disease so widely, that there were often not ten men fit for service. " There were never," says Percy, " Englishmen left in a

foreign country in such misery as we were." Before autumn, fifty died, nearly half their number, among whom was Gosnold, the projector of the settlement. Discontent naturally arose; Wingfield, the president, was accused of living in plenty while others were perishing, and even of meditating a departure. On these charges he was deposed, and his place supplied by Ratcliffe, who, being of an easy temper, left the whole management to Smith, which was what the colonists desired.*

This gentleman justly considered sustenance the most important object, in search of which he proceeded with a party down the river. The natives treated them with derision, "as famished men, and holding out morsels of bread, asked for them swords, muskets, and other valuables." Unable to succeed by fair means, he discharged a volley, which caused them immediately to seek the shelter of the woods. Landing at a village, he found food in abundance; but forbade his people to encumber themselves with it, foreseeing the immediate return of the Indians. Accordingly there soon issued forth, amid hideous noises, sixty or seventy painted savages, bearing in front their *okee*, an image of skins stuffed with moss, and hung with copper chains. They advanced upon the English, but met so *kindly* a reception, that "down fell their god," divers of his worshippers lay sprawling, and the rest disappeared. Their spirit being now humbled, they sent presently a venerable character, a *quiyoughcasuck*, to treat for peace, and for the restoration of their idol. Smith answered, that if they would load his boat, they should be welcome not only to their okee, but to a stock of beads, hatchets, and other valuables. They cheerfully assented, and amidst singing and dancing brought not only the stipulated grain, but presents of turkey, venison, and wild-fowl.

Smith returned just in time to prevent Wingfield and another from seizing a vessel and sailing to England.

* Purchas, part iv. pp. 1697, 1706, 1707. Hillard, in Sparks, vol. ii. p. 218-225.

His supplies, with the flocks of water-fowl which came at the approach of winter, relieved their wants; and having in his rambles discovered the great river Chickahamine, he determined to explore it to its source, not it is said without a hope of thereby reaching the South Sea, viewed then as the grand source of wealth. He was impelled, it was imagined, by the taunts of some of his enemies in the colony, but we rather think only by his own adventurous spirit. He ascended first in his barge, then in a canoe, and twenty miles on foot attended only by his Indian guides. But three hundred natives, who had traced his steps, surprised and dispersed his party, and then came suddenly upon himself. He made astonishing efforts for safety, and fastening with his garters a native ally to his person, presented him to the enemy as a buckler; then he ran to the canoe, which he would have reached, had he not suddenly sunk in a deep morass, where he was overtaken, and, to escape from perishing with cold, obliged to surrender.

He had now reason to consider his last hour approaching, and a circle had in fact been formed to shoot him. With characteristic presence of mind he asked for the chief, showed his compass-dial, pointed out its singular movements, and endeavoured to explain the corresponding phenomena of the earth and sky. Whether they understood these indications or not, they were awed with astonishment as if admitted to contemplate a supernatural object. On a signal from their leader, they laid down their bows and arrows, and led him under strict guard to their capital. He was there exhibited to the women and children; and a wild war-dance was performed round him, in fantastic measures and with frightful yells and contortions. He was then shut up in a long house, and supplied at every meal with as much bread and venison as would have dined twenty men; but, receiving no other sign of kindness, he began to dread that they were fattening in order to eat him. Even without such a precise purpose, this festive entertainment is known among savages to be no uncommon prelude to

torture and death. They asked his aid in reducing Jamestown, while he sought an opportunity of making his way thither. In the course of this manœuvring, a message sent to that place gave him an opportunity to display the powers of writing, which was considered by them as a species of magical spell. At length, after being paraded and exhibited in various villages, he was led to Pamunkey, the residence of Powhatan. It was here his doom was sealed. The chief received him in pomp, wrapt in a spacious robe of racoon skins, with all the tails hanging down. Behind appeared two long lines of men and women, with faces painted red, heads decked with white down, and necks quite encircled by chains of beads. A lady of rank presented water to wash his hands, another a bunch of feathers to dry them. A long deliberation was then held, and the result proved fatal. Two large stones were placed before Powhatan, and by the united efforts of the attendants Smith was dragged to the spot, his head laid on one of them, and the mighty club was raised, a few blows of which were to terminate his life. In this last extremity, when every hope seemed past, a very unexpected interposition took place. Pocahontas, the youthful and favourite daughter of this savage chief, was seized with those tender emotions which form the ornament of her sex. Advancing to her father, she in the most earnest terms supplicated mercy for the stranger; and though all her entreaties were lost on that savage heart, her zeal only redoubled. She ran to Smith, took his head in her arms, laid her own upon it, and declared that the first death-blow must fall upon her. The barbarian's breast was at length softened, and the life of the Englishman was spared.*

Our adventurer, being naturally expected to render some services in return for so great a boon, employed himself in making hatchets, beads, and other ornaments

* Smith ap. Pinkerton, vol. xiii. p. 51-55. Hillard in Sparks, vol. ii. p. 230-240. Purchas, part iv. pp. 1708, 1709.

for the father and daughter. At the end of two days he was conducted into a large house, where, amid hideous and doleful noises, Powhatan rushed in, with two hundred attendants, strangely disguised and their faces blackened. Smith again thought his last hour had come, but the chief announced these as signs of peace and friendship; and he was forthwith sent to Jamestown on the sole condition of transmitting thence two culverins and a millstone, a promise faithfully fulfilled.

He again arrived at a critical moment. A majority of the colonists, impatient of continued hardship and privation, had determined to prepare a pinnace, and set sail for their native country. He took the most energetic steps to arrest this course, having, with the aid of some faithful adherents, pointed a gun at the vessel, and declared she must either stop or sink. A conspiracy was then formed against him; but by his vigilance he detected it, and sent the ringleaders to England. The fair Pocahontas continued her generous kindness, and came every four or five days with provisions, which relieved their wants and revived their spirits. They were soon still farther cheered by the arrival of Captain Newport, with 120 emigrants and liberal supplies. The Company, however, now impatiently endured their heavy expenses, and the absence of all prospect of marketable returns. Gold was still viewed as the main source of wealth, and many of the new comers had been selected on account of their supposed skill in its discovery. Naturally desiring to satisfy their employers, they thought they perceived in a certain yellow glittering earth this precious ore. Thenceforth all sober industry was thrown aside: "Dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, was the universal cry." Smith lamented to see the whole attention of the settlers attracted by this "gilded dirt," but could not prevent them from putting a large portion on board, and some time elapsed before they were apprised that a skilful examination had proved it utterly worthless. Fortunately perhaps, no rumour seems ever to have reached them of the real gold in the mountainous country,

whence they were indeed more distant than the first colonists.

Newport, on learning the friendly intercourse with Powhatan, sent liberal presents, and was invited to visit that savage potentate. He found the monarch surrounded by twenty-two fair ladies, lavishly painted and decked with beads. A courteous traffic was opened, in which Smith considered the captain as overreached, particularly in afterwards acceding to a request for twenty swords, dangerous weapons to put into such hands. The latter, after remaining fourteen weeks, departed without being able to collect any other cargo besides cedar-wood, and the yellow earth of which such illusory hopes were entertained.

Smith now undertook the important task of exploring the Chesapeake to its head, not only with the view of tracing the limits of the colony, but still more from the hope of an inlet opening into the South Sea, and affording a passage to India. In a small barge of only two tons, he steered across to Cape Charles, and began to survey the eastern shore. Here, and at other places, he had sharp conflicts with the natives; and, we suspect, did not altogether follow that conciliatory course ascribed to him by his panegyrists. On meeting any new tribe, his first step is stated to have been, to demand their arms and one of their children; and, on refusal, they were treated as enemies. It cannot surely appear surprising that there should have been some hesitation in complying with such requisitions. In general the people received the English with much surprise, "asking what they were, and what they would." Finding the eastern coast obstructed by rocks and other difficulties, he crossed to the western and proceeded upwards. The men, however, tired with twelve days' rowing, and finding their bread wet and spoiled, became extremely discontented. He endeavoured to rouse them to an emulation of Lane's crew and their canine diet, but was soon obliged to yield and return. Proceeding along an unexplored part of the western coast, they

came unexpectedly upon the magnificent estuary of the Potomac, seven miles broad; and this grand object reviving their spirits and energies, they cheerfully undertook to explore it. They ascended as high as the barge could carry them, and then made a journey by land. Mr Bancroft has traced them beyond the future site of Washington to the falls above George Town. They were led to a mine of a substance like antimony, which, though black, glittered like silver, and was believed by some to contain a large portion of that metal; but, on being examined, it proved of no value whatever. After escaping several ambuscades laid by the natives, they made a short survey of the Rappahannock, and then returned to Jamestown.

Smith, having been prevented from reaching the head of this great inlet, set out afresh in a few days for that destination. He accordingly made his way thither, and ascended the Susquehanna, till stopt by the cataracts. Having learned that two days' journey higher there was a powerful people named the Sasquesahanocks, he sent a message requesting a visit. After an interval of nearly a week there appeared sixty, a giant-like race, with presents of arms, venison, and tobacco-pipes nearly three feet long; and their deportment was quite peaceable and courteous. He then returned to Jamestown, examining in his way the river Patuxent. This voyage of about three thousand miles, performed by twelve men in a small open barge, "with such watery diet, in those great waters and barbarous countries," was extremely creditable to the parties. Although unproductive as to the South Sea or to gold, it made an important addition to the knowledge of this part of America.*

On his arrival, Smith was installed as president, and began, with characteristic activity, to improve the buildings, strengthen the forts, and train the men to

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Purchas, part iv. p. 1712-1716. Hillard in Sparks, chap. vii. Smith ap. Pinkerton, vol. xiii. p. 61-72.

military exercises; but he was interrupted by the arrival of Newport with a fresh colony of about seventy, including two females. The Company having spent at least £2000 in the equipment, expressed an earnest desire and expectation of being somewhat reimbursed. They pointed out particularly, as objects to be attained, a lump of gold, the discovery of the South Sea, or a member of Raleigh's lost company. The second being seemingly the main object, a bark was sent in frame to ascend one of the great rivers, to be thence carried over the mountains, and launched on a stream flowing into the Pacific. In estimating the want of geographical knowledge which this scheme displayed, we must allow for their imperfect resources. The discoveries of Drake and Cavendish could not yet be connected with the eastern side of America. The impression probably was, that the moderate breadth of the continent in Mexico would be prolonged northwards; while in point of fact the idea of wealth attached to the South Sea, was founded on vague and illusory associations. Its shores in Mexico and Peru were indeed rich in the precious metals; but this afforded no presumption as to what might be the productions of a more northern latitude. As, in furtherance of this object, Powhatan's favour was to be courted, there had been sent handsome presents, with materials to crown him with splendour in the European style. Smith viewed the Pacific and the coronation of Powhatan as alike absurd; but was obliged to yield to Newport, who came with instructions direct from the Company. With only four companions he courageously repaired to the residence of the monarch, inviting him to come and be crowned at Jamestown. The party were extremely well received, though once they heard in the adjoining wood outcries so hideous as made them flee to their arms; but Pocahontas assured them they had nothing to fear. Accordingly, there issued thence thirty damsels of such strange aspect that he uncourteously terms them fiends. They were covered only with green leaves bedaubed with shining colours, the leader

wearing on her forehead a pair of stag's horns. For an hour they danced round the fire, with wild shouts and strange contortions. They then retired; and the table was spread with an abundance of savage dainties, when the ladies, with whom he hoped to have done, rushed in, and, crowding round him, lavished compliments with which he would have gladly dispensed, each calling out, "Love you not me?" When, however, the unsophisticated monarch received the invitation, he proudly replied, "If your king has sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is my land—your father is to come up to me, not I to him."

Newport was not discouraged; but, taking with him Smith and fifty men, repaired to this sylvan court. The coronation took place; but Powhatan appears to have been more surprised than delighted. He made a difficulty even in putting on the scarlet dress from a fear of some magical effect. He strenuously objected to kneeling; on which they long absurdly insisted, but were obliged to be contented with his merely bending the shoulders. A volley fired at the close made him start up in alarm, but he soon recovered his composure.

The king assured them that all their ideas of a salt water beyond the mountains were erroneous, and refused guides for so wild a search. Newport, however, goaded probably by his employers, set out, leaving Smith at Jamestown. The party ascended to the Falls, and even forty miles farther by land. Finding, however, provisions scanty, and their toils always increasing, they commenced a retreat before they had reached the Alleghany. They returned to the town, oppressed "with toil, famine, and discontent;" and the chimera of the South Sea was finally relinquished.

Meantime all hands were employed in preparing some kind of cargo that might not wholly disappoint the Company; but this was very difficult. Persons had been sent over to teach the art of making pitch, tar, glass, and ashes, objects unfit for so distant a market; however some specimens were prepared. The larger number

applied themselves to the cutting of timber for boards and wainscot; and even the gentlemen endeavoured to make an amusement of this hard task. Thus a cargo was at length made up, though its value little accorded with expectation.*

Smith, having despatched the vessel, applied himself to the procuring of food. In this search he employed an unjustifiable violence towards the Indians, and formed a plot for seizing the person of Powhatan, with whom the colonists had long been in amity. As a preparation, he sent six men, four of them German, to build for him a sylvan palace. These persons, however, being extremely well treated, became attached to their host, and betrayed to him the meditated conspiracy. Powhatan, though highly incensed, was unwilling to encounter the English in open war, but dissembling, endeavoured to catch the president in his own toils. When the latter, therefore, approached with a large party, he declined, on plausible pretences, to receive them armed. Smith replied in a similar tone; and there began between the two a game of courtesy and treachery, in which, however, the savage proved the better performer. Not only was the Englishman foiled, but was himself repeatedly in danger, and once only saved by a second interposition of Pocahontas, who, at the risk of her father's displeasure, ran through the woods in a dark night to give him warning. At another time he was surrounded by a large body under Powhatan's brother, but extricated himself by energy and address. In this way, however, he had placed his countrymen in a position of rooted enmity with the natives, which continued to produce distressing consequences.†

Meantime events occurred at home deeply affecting the interests of the colony. Although the Company had been disappointed of their expected returns, the accounts of the extent, beauty, and fertility of the regions just

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* Purchas, part iv. p. 1717-1719. Hillard, in Sparks, ch. viii.
† Ibid. part iv. pp. 1721, 1722. Ibid. ch. ix.

discovered, kindled in that enterprising age an extraordinary enthusiasm. Pamphlets were published, apparently on high authority, painting it as completely an earthly paradise. On a larger scale, and under more enlightened views, it was hoped that the errors which had cramped its progress would be avoided. Many distinguished individuals were ready to embark their fortunes in this enterprise; and, with the consent of the old members, the Company was remodelled on a larger scale, and under a new charter. Their territory was augmented from the former 100 miles of coast to 400; being 200 on each side of Cape Comfort; and it was extended in breadth to the South Sea. James, yielding to some influence which does not distinctly appear, was induced to waive those high claims of sovereignty before so strictly reserved. He allowed the council in England to be chosen by the proprietors, with power to nominate a governor. The episcopal church was exclusively established, and all emigrants required to take the oath of supremacy. There appears a peculiar anxiety to exclude Roman Catholics, respecting whom it is observed, in a pamphlet addressed to Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer, "I would have none seasoned with the least taint of that leaven to be settled on this plantation, or any part of that country; but if once perceived, such an one, weede him out; for they will ever be plotting and conspiring to root you out if they can; if you will live and prosper, harbour not this viperous broode in your bosom."*

The exertions of the patentees, and the general enthusiasm kindled throughout the nation, enabled the Company to equip an expedition of nine vessels and 500 emigrants. Lord Delaware, distinguished by his talents and virtues, was named governor for life; and as he could not depart immediately, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers were to rule in the mean time. The vessels set sail on the 15th May 1609, and seven

* Chalmers, vol. i. p. 25. Nova Britannia, by R. J., London, 1609.

arrived on the 11th August at Jamestown; but unfortunately they had encountered a violent storm, in which two, having on board Gates and Summers, were separated and thrown upon the Bermudas. In their absence, Smith justly claimed the rule; but many of the newcomers, being bankrupts, spendthrifts, or others sent for doing no good at home, were indisposed to obey him. For some time total anarchy reigned; but its evils at length became so great, that he was entreated to resume the government. He exerted himself to locate advantageously the emigrants, of whom two parties, 120 each, were settled at Nansemond, and at the Falls of James River. Both, however, mismanaged their affairs, quarrelled with the Indians, and lost a number of their men; while they rejected all his efforts to remedy these disorders. In returning from the latter place, a bag of gunpowder burst and severely mangled his person, so that he reached home in extreme torture. Here he was told that plots were forming against his life. Unable in his debilitated state to struggle against so many difficulties, he returned to England, quitting for ever the colony which had been so much indebted to him. He received at home neither honours nor rewards. The Company, prepossessed by his numerous enemies, complained that he had brought no wealth into their coffers, and had acted severely towards the Indians. Posterity has done him justice, perhaps somewhat beyond his merits. His bold and active spirit, with sound practical judgment, eminently qualified him for the station; though, being somewhat hot and uncompromising in his temper, he excited bitter enmities. A conciliatory disposition and persuasive powers were, in such a situation, almost indispensable to render his exertions effective. His conduct towards the Indians was in general culpable, and by the hostility which it created, neutralized in a great measure his eminent services.*

His eulogium, however, was found in the state of the

* Hillard, in Sparks, ch. xii.

colony after his departure. Only about thirty or forty acres were cultivated; the ships had brought grain in limited quantity, and much spoiled during the unfortunate voyage. The Indians, no longer overawed by the late president, not only refused victuals, but killed many settlers. Thus there ensued a dreadful famine, long fearfully remembered under the name of the "Starving Time." Many were impelled to the horrid resource of devouring the bodies of the dead; nay there are dark imputations of murder committed under this fearful impulse. Vessels sent along the rivers were either sunk, or the crews beaten by the savages. Virginia seemed a devoted soil. Of the flourishing colony of five hundred persons, there remained only sixty "most miserable and poor creatures." After a large expenditure, and successive arrivals of emigrants, it had returned almost into its original insignificance.

Meantime, Gates and Summers, after their calamitous shipwreck upon the Bermudas, being delighted with the fine climate and soil of those islands, employed the winter in forming a settlement there, and surveying the coasts. Although distracted by several violent mutinies, they succeeded in fitting out a pinnace and sailing to Jamestown. They arrived in the month of May; but what was their disappointment, when, instead of repose and refreshment, they discovered such extreme misery. Their scanty stock was now the only support of the settlers, who, in four days, must have been completely famished. The Indians, holding the fort closely blockaded, and cutting down every European that ventured beyond its precincts, precluded all hope of supply. In this extremity no resource appeared to remain but to embark for Newfoundland, and among the fishing-vessels there find the means of transportation to England. This determination was received with loud shouts and acclamations. By the 6th of June the preparations were completed, the whole colony was on board, and had begun to move down the river, when a long-boat was met ascending. This proved the precursor of three

ships under Lord Delaware, who came with a reinforcement and large supplies, to take the command. Their arrival seeming a special interposition of Providence, the colonists cheerfully resumed their station.*

His lordship made great exertions to redeem the affairs of the settlement. The very subjection to one individual so high in character and rank as to preclude rivalry, terminated many causes of disorder. Summers went for provisions to the Bermudas, and Gates to England; but an evil destiny seemed still to beset Virginia. This excellent nobleman, from whom so much was hoped, was by his own statement immediately seized with a severe ague, followed by a flux, and his physician warned him, that if he remained twenty days longer his health would be entirely ruined. He was therefore obliged to return home, leaving Percy in the command. Sir Thomas Dale, who soon after arrived with fresh men and supplies, introduced martial law; a code peculiarly abhorrent to the feelings of freemen. It was perhaps necessary to quell the lawless spirits that had caused such terrible disorders; and he administered it with a moderation which prevented any serious clamour.†

The Company meantime strictly interrogated Gates and Delaware as to what really were their prospects from a colony in which such large funds had been invested. They gave reports most decidedly favourable. His lordship, in a letter addressed to the council, declared the land to be wonderfully fertile in corn and wine, as well as adapted for the rearing of cattle. There were 200 colonists, mostly in good health; and there would be no want of any thing, if the action could be upheld with constancy. He was ready to lay out upon it all he was worth, and to return as soon as he conveniently could. A determination was thereupon formed to persevere, which the king anxiously seconded. He made to them soon after an additional grant of the Bermudas, the

* Purchas, part iv. pp. 1732, 1761, 1762.

† Ibid. part iv. p. 1754. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 159. The Relation of the Right Hon. Lord de la Warre, Lond. 1611.

flattering descriptions of which had strongly impressed the public mind. He allowed them the more solid benefit of opening a lottery, which, in about ten years, produced £29,000, and was called "the real food by which Virginia had been nourished." It excited, however, much complaint; and James, on the remonstrances of parliament, at length closed it.*

Gates was now sent as governor with six ships, 300 emigrants, and 100 cattle, when Dale, with part of the newcomers, went up the river, and formed the settlement of Henrico, named in honour of the Prince of Wales. An interesting event terminated the long hostility with the native tribes. Argall, an enterprising naval commander, contrived, through an Indian who had become his sworn friend, to inveigle on board his vessel the fair Princess Pocahontas. Regardless of her tears and entreaties, he conveyed her to Jamestown, where she was well treated; but, in a negotiation for her ransom, exorbitant terms were demanded, which her father indignantly rejected, and the breach seemed only widened.† Happily, the chains of the princess' captivity were lightened by others of a more pleasing nature. Mr John Rolfe, a respectable young man, was smitten with her dignified demeanour, and found no difficulty in gaining her affections. In a long letter to Sir Thomas Dale, he gives an account of his feelings, which curiously illustrates the antipathy subsisting between the two races. On becoming conscious, he says, of this mutual attachment, a mighty war arose in his bosom, and musings and agitations followed which would fill a volume. He shrunk from a union with one "whose education hath been rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed." He called to mind the judgments that had befallen those among the children of Israel who married strange women. Above all, he was moved by a dark fear lest this should be "a wicked instigation,

* Chalmers, pp. 32, 33. Relation of Lord de la Warre.

† A true Discourse of the present State of Virginia, by Raphe Hamor, p. 4.

hatched by him that seeketh man's destruction." Against this dreadful apprehension he fortified himself by considering that his love was combined with an anxiety to impart to her religious knowledge, for which she showed peculiar aptness and capacity, though without his care she would too probably remain in her present darkness. Conscious, also, that the charm was not beauty, since the colony contained "Christians more pleasing to the eye," he trusted that his love was founded on higher principles. Thus satisfied in his own mind he determined not to be swayed by "the base fear of displeasing the world."* Sir Thomas heartily commended his resolution, which, indeed, seems to have met with the general approbation of the colony. Some apprehension was felt how it might be received by the proud and savage parent; but he expressed himself quite delighted, and thereupon entered into a treaty of amity, which he never violated. Though he did not choose to come himself, his brother and son were present at the nuptials. Sir Thomas takes the credit of having already made her a Christian; while Rolfe talks of that as still to be done. However, she was finally converted, and baptized under the name of Rebecca, to which the English prefixed the title of Lady; and her subsequent conduct is said to have adorned her profession. Soon after, in company with her husband, she visited this country. Smith wrote a letter to her majesty, recounting her good deeds, declaring that she had a great spirit, though a low stature, and beseeching for her a reception corresponding to her rank and merits. She was accordingly introduced at court, and into the circles of fashion, where, as a novelty, she was for some time the leading object, and is said to have deported herself with suitable grace and dignity. Purchas mentions his meeting with her at the table of his patron, Dr King, bishop of London, where she was entertained with "festival state and pomp,"

*"A True Discourse on the Present State of Virginia, by Raphe Hamor, p. 64-67.

respected as a princess, and deporting herself as such. She was attended by Vitamatomakkin, her brother-in-law, an Indian chief and priest, who still retained all his savage manners. Purchas, who saw him repeatedly "sing and dance his diabolical measures," sought to persuade him, after his sister's example, to become a Christian. He proved, however, "a blasphemer of what he knew not," insisting that their okee, having taught his people to sow, plant, and wear a lock twisted round their left ear, had an undisputed title to their homage. Powhatan had instructed him to collect information respecting England, particularly the number of people; and he came provided with a bundle of sticks to make a notch for each person. On landing at Plymouth, he became appalled at the magnitude of his task; but, notwithstanding, he notched indefatigably till he entered Piccadilly, when he instantly threw away his bundle, and on returning, bid his master count the leaves on the trees, and the sands on the seashore. He communicated to Smith his special instructions to see first the English God, then their king, queen, and prince. Informed that he could not be gratified as to the first particular, he was introduced at the levee, and saw the three others; but was very indignant at not receiving a present, which among savage tribes is the invariable accompaniment of a state interview.

James took an absurd apprehension that Rolfe, on the ground of his wife's birth, might advance a claim to the crown of Virginia. This idea, however, being at length driven out of his mind, he appointed him secretary and recorder-general of the colony. The princess, early in 1617, went to embark at Gravesend; but Providence had not destined that she should revisit her native shore. She was there seized with an illness which carried her off in a few days; and her last hours are said to have extremely edified the spectators, being full of Christian resignation and hope. She had left a son in the colony, whose offspring, carefully traced, is now numerous, and this descent is the boast of many Virginian families.*

* Purchas, part iv. pp. 1773, 1774. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 163.

About this time a treaty was attempted with Powhatan for the marriage of a second daughter; but though he expressed an earnest wish to maintain friendship with the English, he made apologies, and at length frankly owned, that though ready to give any other pledge of peace, he could not resolve to part with both his darling children. Notwithstanding the example of Rolfe, and the scarcity of females in the settlement, intermarriage between the races never became at all general.

Under Gates and Dale, the colony at length began to take a regular form, and to advance in prosperity. Hitherto it had been conducted on the unhappy system of each individual labouring for a public stock, from which he drew his subsistence. It was thus reckoned that twenty men were required for what could easily have been done by three; hence in a great measure arose those dreadful famines which had nearly exterminated the settlers. Now, in the first instance, a spot of ground and a month in the year were allowed to each; and finally, private property being completely established, fifty acres were granted to such as were able to stock and cultivate them.*

From the first settlement the Company had shown the most intense anxiety for some production or branch of trade that would bring in money. For this they have been severely reproached; and yet they could scarcely be expected to spend large sums, merely that others should earn a bare subsistence in a distant climate. They had invested their capital, and looked for a return. Had they considered the subject more carefully, they might have seen that this expectation was an illusion; but it was one fortunate for the public, since they would otherwise never have embarked in the undertaking.

Gold and the South Sea were the first chimeras that had danced before their eyes. As these faded, an attempt was made to draw upon the woods; but the necessary processes required both labour and skill, while the bulky

* Chalmers, p. 34. Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 167, 168.

produce would not pay transportation to such a distance. Expectation was next turned to silk and wine, for which the climate and soil were well adapted, wild vines being found growing in abundance. But these products, requiring many hands, much care, and professional knowledge, were so unsuited to an infant colony, that even in the present advanced state of America they have never been brought to any perfection. Much was hoped from iron, on still more slender grounds, and in vain were numerous workmen sent out, and instructions given in these different branches. But while all the schemes for enriching Virginia, and all the efforts founded on them, proved abortive, wealth suddenly flowed in from an unexpected source. On the wild meadows and river-banks, there grew a dingy weed, of pungent taste and odour,—tobacco. Though its use be at first offensive, and has always disagreeable accompaniments, it has been found to possess an irresistible attraction for a great portion of mankind. It affords a prolonged indulgence, attended with less injury to mind and body than alcohol or opium. On being introduced into the Old World, it spread rapidly to its remotest districts. Even in Turkey and China, it broke the barriers of inveterate usage, and became a favourite regale. Raleigh first rendered it fashionable at court, to which it was for some time confined; but it gradually spread, and became the luxury of almost every rank. Every new custom encounters opposition, and tobacco, with so many weak points, became exposed to a most imbittered one. King James proclaimed himself its open enemy, and produced a pamphlet, entitled, "Counterblast to Tobacco," in which, as well as in a proclamation, he branded it as a vile and nauseous weed, tending to the general corruption of men's bodies and minds. The legislature of New England prohibited its import, comparing its smoke to that of the bottomless pit. It was even arraigned before parliament as a mania that infected the whole nation, and "hindered its health,"—causing the death of thousands; hence its entire proscription was merely delayed by representing

the urgent wants of the colony. Men, however, will not regulate their daily habits by statute and proclamation. Under all this opprobrium, the use of tobacco spread wider and wider, and as Virginia yielded it of finer quality than any other place except some of the West India islands, the grand desideratum was fulfilled, of bringing in hard cash to the colony and Company. This was even aided by the general contempt, which at length drew forth a prohibition to misemploy upon it the soil of England. Yet the leading men appear always to have felt in some degree humbled at the idea of owing their wealth to such a source. The Company, with all their avidity, pronounced it a "prostitution of the Virginian glebe," and inserted a clause in their grants, that the land should not be chiefly employed for this object. The colonists, however, who saw nothing else answer their purpose, pursued the culture with the utmost diligence, planting it even in the streets of Jamestown itself. In 1619, it was imported to the extent of 20,000 lbs.; which, however, at three shillings a-pound, considered a good price, would not produce above £3000. But the king, whose opposition did not preclude his desire to draw a revenue, began a series of regulations, which injured the trade much more seriously than the effusions of his pen. It was prohibited to be sold without the royal seal affixed, in sign of duty being paid; and an exorbitant valuation was made, in order that the impost of five per cent. might yield 6d. per pound. Unhappily, too, his paternal care prompted to a regulation for "the garbling of tobacco," that "the good might be separated from the bad;" and this was to be performed in an arbitrary manner, by inspectors and judges. An arrangement had even been made to monopolize entirely all these articles, but was prevented by his death; and yet under the most vexatious regulations, the produce continued to increase.*

In 1616, the colonists had the misfortune to lose Sir

* Chalmers, pp. 41, 42-46, 51-57. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 168.

Thomas Dale, endeared to them by his mild and beneficent administration. Sir George Yeardley acted for some time as deputy, when Lord Delaware again set sail to assume the command, but unfortunately died on the voyage. The government then devolved upon Argall, a brave and successful naval commander, who had added some important possessions to the crown. His conduct has been described as hasty and tyrannical in the highest degree, leaving no security either for life or property. This statement appears exaggerated; his enactments being apparently well meant, though too violent. Accustomed to rule on shipboard with the powers of martial law, he wished to direct every thing in the colony as if it had been the deck of a ship of war; and he ignorantly attempted to enforce by statute a higher price for tobacco and other colonial staples. No person, on pain of death, was to teach an Indian to use firearms; a law which might have been useful with a milder penalty. Any one absenting himself from church on Sunday was to be a slave during the next week; if a second time, for a month. No body of men who had enjoyed any measure of liberty could sit content under his arbitrary yoke. The Company, besieged with complaints, and finding that emigrants were thus deterred, superseded him, replacing the management in the hands of Yeardley.*

This interval of despotic rule seems to have had a salutary effect in exciting among the colonists a demand for a constitution more accordant with their British origin. The Company, among whom popular ideas had begun to prevail, authorized the new governor not only to form a council, but to convene delegates, who with them and himself should constitute the first representative assembly that met in the western hemisphere. They appear to have entered on their functions with activity, soliciting that martial law should be exchanged for the system of English jurisprudence, which, in a

* Chalmers, p. 36-39.

somewhat courtly strain, they expressed a wish to receive from the hands of his majesty. They then enacted a number of laws, which, being sent over for the approbation of the Company, were received by that body in a somewhat equivocal manner, who, though they admitted that they were very judiciously formed, sanctioned none of them. Two years after, that body transmitted a new constitution, so framed as to secure them, in a great measure, against any proceeding contrary to their views. The House of Assembly was to consist of the governor, a council appointed by the corporation at home, and two representatives from each borough. As this meeting amounted to twenty-one, while the delegates from eleven boroughs were twenty-two, the Company had only to gain one of the latter in order to obtain the full dictation of every measure. We cannot, therefore, help thinking Mr Bancroft's exultation as somewhat premature, in considering representative government as thereby fully established in the New World. The assembly could be considered as little more than a council, though even in this view it was doubtless beneficial. The Company, moreover, reserved to itself a negative on their decisions; though in return they granted one to the assembly upon their own ordinances.*

Meantime, a remarkable change had taken place in their constitution. At first all the transactions were carried on by the council, the other members being merely summoned occasionally to fill up its vacancies. The early disasters and the total absence of profit probably excited clamours, which, at its last patent in 1611, led to the arrangement that the whole body should be convened weekly or even oftener, and decide on all affairs of any importance. In these meetings, attended often by 200 or 300, a reforming party arose, who not only arraigned various measures, but called for an entire change of management as the only effectual remedy for the existing evils. After a series of struggles,

* Chalmers, p. 43-54. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 171.

this faction, early in 1619, attained a complete ascendency, which they used to eject Sir Thomas Smith, against whom heavy and reiterated complaints had been made, from the office of treasurer, and to appoint in his stead Sir Edwin Sandys. This officer, seconded by Lord Southampton, Sir John Danvers, and other patriotic members, began a series of most active exertions for raising the colony from its deep depression. After £80,000 expended in the course of twelve years, it contained still not more than 600 inhabitants. They published a statement tending to remove the unfavourable effect derived from so many failures. The country is described as rich, spacious, and well watered, "abounding with all God's natural blessings, and too good for ill people." But silence is observed with regard to tobacco, on which a heavy odium still rested. The iron is described as admirable, the timber the finest in the world, and capable of yielding in perfection tar, pitch, and ashes. The main hope, however, was still placed in silk and wine, the capacity for which is said to be perfectly equal to Italy and Persia; and though the attempts hitherto made had failed, they would be renewed with more ample means, skill, and care. To compensate to the proprietors for the entire want of dividends, and at the same time encourage settlement, it was voted that for every £12, 10s. of stock, there should be granted 100 acres, and on the occupation of this, a second hundred.* Every one who should emigrate at his own expense was to receive fifty acres, on which, only after a lapse of seven years, he was to pay a quitrent of 12d.† Very advantageous patents were granted to those who undertook to convey emigrants. Under these encouragements, and by the exertions of the Company, there were despatched in the course of 1619 twelve ships of from 70 to 350 tons, and conveying no fewer than 1261 persons, being more than double the number actually

* A True Declaration of the State of the Colonies in Virginia. By his Majesty's Council, 22d Junii 1620; p. 34-39.

† Orders and Constitutions, 1619-1620, p. 33.

residing.* Ninety maidens of unblemished reputation were sent to enable some of the settlers to enjoy the comforts of matrimony. Next year, a fresh body of 800 were despatched, including 100 females. In short, during 1619, and the two following years, there were conveyed 3570 men and women, with 1500 head of cattle, raising the population to more than six times its previous number.† The limits of settlement were thus extended more than sixty miles along the river; but the hope of prosperity thereby opened was marred by a dreadful and unexpected calamity.

Ever since the marriage of Pocahontas, the English and natives had lived in a state of peace, and even of amity. Powhatan was now dead; but his successor had expressed the strongest desire to maintain undisturbed the existing harmony. Sir Francis Wyatt, sent out as governor in 1621, received instructions to observe strictly all existing treaties; and the Company, it appears, proceeded on the principle of occupying no lands without previous purchase. Under these circumstances, every trace of the former enmity between the two races seemed obliterated; even the prohibition against holding and using firearms was discontinued; and the Indians lived in the most familiar manner, entering at pleasure the houses of the planters. Yet, in fact, a fearful change had taken place, and the most fatal designs were already secretly formed. The English writers assert, that there was absolutely nothing to account for or palliate their savage purpose; but it ought to be observed, that the Indians have not been heard for themselves. It was impossible for them to view without alarm the large bodies which arrived in such rapid succession, rendering the population more dense than the original native one; and as this increase seemed to go on without intermission, it would soon

* A True Declaration of the State of the Colonies in Virginia, p. 9. Note, p. 2.

† A Declaration of Supplies, &c. by the Council, 18th Julii 1620. A Declaration of the State of the Colony, &c. in Virginia, &c. Published by Authority, 1622, p. 6.

give to the foreigners an overwhelming superiority. With regard to the boast of uniform good treatment, we are disposed to suspect, that, amid the miscellaneous multitude poured into the colony, and hastily settled in places remote from the seat of government, many may have been guilty of violence, or of contempt more intolerable still to proud minds. Certain it is, a day was fixed on which the whole of this dreaded race was to be exterminated from the Virginian soil. The utmost kindness, and even fondness, shown to individuals was to procure no exemption; it was to be a national doom and deed. The secret, too, was kept with that profound dissimulation which so deeply marks savage vengeance. Opechankanough the king, several days before, had declared that sooner the skies would fall than his friendship with the English be dissolved. They continued, to the last moment, visiting, conversing, and holding the most friendly intercourse with those whom they were about to slay. There was only one exception, which saved the colony. A gentleman, named Pace, had an Indian domestic, whom he had not only treated with peculiar kindness, but had converted to the Christian religion. Late at night the mandate was delivered to him to murder his master next day; instead of which he rose from bed, and warned him of the danger. Pace was separated from Jamestown by the river, three miles broad; but he hastily rose, got into a boat, crossed over, and gave the alarm at the government-house. Thence expresses were sent to all places within reach; and thus Henrico and Charles, the only two villages, as well as the densest cluster of plantations, were saved. But in the more remote settlements the storm fell in all its fury. While the English, without the slightest suspicion, were busied in their usual occupations in the field, house, and garden, the Indians, with their own arms, or any edge-tools of which they could lay hold, struck them dead before conscious of any danger. Amid the general dismay, exaggerated reports were circulated, and have even been admitted into respectable narra-

tives. Smith states the number of victims at 5000,* while, in a pamphlet ascribed to Berkeley, it is rated at 2000. These, however, were hearsay accounts. The Company immediately published a statement furnished from the colony by Edward Waterhouse, one of their servants, in which is inserted the name of every sufferer, "that their lawful heirs might claim the inheritance;" and the whole list does not exceed 347.† This, at a time when there must have been in the colony somewhat above four thousand, was not a great numerical loss; but it obliged them to relinquish all their outer stations, to crowd the plantations inconveniently together, and to keep constantly on the watch. In England, the dread and horror which the tidings excited for some time withheld adventurers. But perhaps the greatest evil consisted in the state of relentless hostility in which it placed them with the native tribes. Waterhouse, in terms which we cannot approve, represents it as an advantage; that their hands were thereby set at liberty; that instead of purchasing waste-land at large prices, "we may now, by right of war and law of nations, invade the country and destroy them who sought to destroy us; we shall enjoy their cultivated places, turning the laborious mattock into the victorious sword (where both more ease, benefit, and glory), and possessing the fruits of others' labours." The Indians were very unequal to the contest which they had barbarously provoked. They had indeed procured a quantity of arms and gunpowder; but they sowed most of the latter, expecting it to yield a crop like maize.‡ They wanted implements as well as discipline to contend with their civilized enemies; and hence by degrees they were either exterminated or driven to the westward.

This event was particularly disastrous to the Company,

* Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters, 1631, p. 7.
† Declaration of the State of the Colony, &c., with a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre of 22d March last, pp. 14, 15, 20, 21.
‡ Ibid. 21.

in reference to a momentous contest in which they were involved at home. James soon viewed with an evil eye their numerous meetings and warm debates, which were represented to him as a seminary for a seditious parliament. This umbrage was much increased owing to the ascendency gained by the reforming party, who were identical with that which in the lower house supported popular rights against his prerogative. This body, on the expiry of Sir Edwin Sandys' year of service, were fully prepared to re-elect him. But on meeting for that purpose, what was their consternation when there was presented to them on the king's part a leet of six, out of which they were required to choose a treasurer! This being declared to be a decided violation of their privileges, Lords Pembroke and Southampton undertook to speak to his majesty on the subject. They found that his main objection was pointed against the present treasurer; and he at last ungraciously waved every other point, saying "Choose the d——l if you please, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." This being reported at the next meeting, the Company "were in the height of discontent," and a collision with the crown seemed inevitable, when Sir John Danvers drew aside Lord Southampton, and dealt with him "to own the place." His lordship said he knew he would thus incur his sovereign's severe displeasure; but in order that this pious and glorious work might be encouraged, they might do with him what they pleased. His high character secured his immediate election, and he made extraordinary exertions for the improvement of the colony. Both he and Sandys, however, were soon after committed to the Tower, when Danvers succeeded as treasurer. At the same time, James laid the most exorbitant taxes on tobacco, which might seem inconsistent with his having so vehemently denounced it as odious and pernicious; but he argued that, being therefore entitled to banish or burn it, any milder course might be considered lenient. Urged, doubtless, by his necessities, he at one time offered for £20,000 to leave the entire trade in the hands of the

Company; and some of the leading members were disposed to have agreed, but the others considered the sacrifice too great.

Being unable to bring the Association to his terms, the king determined to proceed to extremity against them. A proposal was transmitted to them to surrender their charter and receive another, according to which he should appoint all the principal officers, and exercise the whole real power. This blow was so unexpected, that the members could not believe their own ears, and caused the letter to be read three times over. They then remained for some time unable to utter a word, when at length Argall rose, and proposed a compliance with the royal demand. It was carried against him by 112 to 8; and an extraordinary general court being soon after called, although many absented themselves, there was still a majority on this side of 70 to 9. The monarch, however, being determined to carry his point, raised against them a writ of *quo warranto*. Their books and papers were seized, and a commission sent out to Virginia, professedly to investigate, but really to collect evidence against this devoted body. Many great abuses had distinguished its early management; and, though these had been almost entirely reformed, the public did not very nicely discriminate. The only recent reproach had been the want of precaution against the Indians, which belonged rather to the local than to the home administration; yet the calamity had been so direful as to create a feeling against the whole. Smith, indignant at perhaps unmerited neglect, gave his testimony against them. Finally, the courts, composed then of judges removable by the crown, passed, in June 1624, a sentence declaring the charter forfeited. His majesty in this whole transaction appears to have been actuated by nothing but avarice and the love of power. He attacked the Company, not during their early misconduct, but when, having renovated themselves, they had commenced a career of patriotic exertion, and he leagued himself with Sir Thomas Smith and others, the real authors of

these abuses. Generally, indeed, a royal administration is better calculated to direct a rising colony, than a commercial company, always intent on present profit. Yet Virginia would probably have benefited by a few more years of the zealous exertions made by the late council.*

It has been asserted by Mr Chalmers, and generally believed, that James abolished all the franchises of Virginia; but Mr Bancroft's careful researches seem to prove that there was no constitutional change. The assemblies remained as before; and as the boroughs increased with the population, this independent part rose into greater importance. Wyatt was continued in office, and a council appointed with great impartiality. They were referred for their rule of conduct to the precedent of the last five years, which Mr Chalmers thoughtlessly calls a period of the greatest tyranny; whereas it was that during which a representative government had been granted and the colony every way well governed. The sovereign continued to secure tobacco against rivalry in Britain; but he prohibited its exportation, and had made arrangements for confining the whole trade to his agents, who were to receive the produce at a stipulated price, and retail it for him,—a project which was arrested by his death on the 27th March 1625. He left behind him an equivocal and rather low reputation; yet his zeal for the promotion of colonial interests appears to have been sincere, and formed perhaps the best trait in his character.†

Charles I. inherited the arbitrary principles of his father, but with a mild though somewhat unsteady disposition. He appears never to have thought of altering the Virginian constitution; and, on the death of Wyatt, appointed Sir George Yeardley, a highly popular governor. He endeavoured, however, to follow up the tobacco monopoly; but, through a strong remonstrance,

* A Collection of the most remarkable Passages from the Original to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company. London, 1651. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 199-206.

† Chalmers, pp. 67, 68. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 208.

signed by the governor, five of the council, and thirty-one burgesses, he was induced to desist. On the death of Yeardley in 1627, the council elected successively West and Pott as interim-governors. In 1629, John Harvey was sent out by Charles, with a considerable number of emigrants, though under unfavourable auspices, having been distinguished as an enemy to the late popular managers. Historians, in general, have represented this government as one of unmixed tyranny. Under him, says Chalmers, "the Virginians seem to have been ruled rather as the vassals of an eastern despot, than as the subjects of the King of England. They were governed as a conquered people, without either moderation, or good humour, or justice." Yet, Mr Bancroft, by reference to the statute-book, has ascertained that the charge of levying taxes without a representative sanction is unfounded,—the assembly having regularly met during the whole period of his administration. The chief complaints are a rigid exaction of certain fines, and a haughty demeanour towards the council; and it was by them, not the people, that in 1636 he was sent to England, loaded with heavy charges. Charles would not even admit his accusers to an audience; and, though this was doubtless prompted by his high notions of prerogative, yet, as his temper was humane, it becomes the more improbable that the alleged crimes were very atrocious. Harvey returned triumphant, and continued in office more than two years, when he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt. The latter, after two years more, yielded the place to Sir William Berkeley, who assumed the government in February 1642.*

Berkeley has been generally panegyrized as the greatest benefactor of Virginia, and the most perfect model of a colonial ruler. We find some difficulty in discovering wherein this superlative excellence consisted.. In re-

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 209-218. Chalmers, pp. 118, 119. The History of Virginia. By R. B., gent., a Native and Inhabitant of the Place. (R. Beverley). London, 1722, p. 50.

ligion, he was a complete bigot to the Church of England, and by prohibiting every other form of worship, drove or kept thousands out of the settlement. He opposed the most determined resistance to the diffusion of knowledge, even in its most elementary form, saying, "Thank God, there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects, into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." He no doubt showed a laudable anxiety for the physical wellbeing of the people, yet he appears to have carried to excess the reigning antipathy to tobacco, devoting his efforts wholly to the production of silk, wine, glass, ashes, and similar articles, which the circumstances of the colony rendered premature. All his views, indeed, were shared by the leading men in the plantation, and standing foremost in support of their errors, he obtained their applause. His popularity appears to have been aided by mild and conciliatory manners. Mr Bancroft, however, has clearly shown, in opposition to Chalmers, and even to Story, that he carried out no new franchises; and that the representative assembly, which he is described as having restored, had never ceased to meet.*

Ever since the dreadful massacre of 1622, a vindictive warfare had been waged with the Indians, chiefly by predatory incursions into their territory; and in the year 1643, the assembly voted that no terms of peace with them should be entertained. That unfortunate people, driven to despair, again entered into a general confederacy, hoping, by a sudden attack, to cut off the hated race who had seized their lands. This step could not now be reproached with treachery, nor could suspicion be lulled by professions of friendship; yet through their habits of deep dissimulation, they, in some degree,

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 219. Beverley, p. 50-57. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States. By Joseph Story, LL.D., 3 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1833, vol. i. p. 29-33.

effected a surprise. About 300 colonists were killed; but as soon as the main body were roused, the savage assailants were completely defeated, pursued into their own country, and Opechankanough their king taken prisoner. Though well treated, he felt indignant at the multitudes who were allowed to come into his prison, and satisfy their curiosity by viewing his person; assuring Berkeley that, had fortune reversed their situation, he would not have meanly exhibited his captive as a show. A brutal soldier put an end to his life by shooting him in the back; and the Indians were now so far overawed, that the governor, in 1646, could impose a treaty, including an extensive cession of territory.*

A considerable interval of tranquillity now elapsed, of which we shall avail ourselves to exhibit some view of the progress and actual state of the colony; and here we can take advantage of some materials which do not appear to have been in the possession of former narrators. Even before the dissolution of the Company, the king had presented them with a hundred "dissolute persons," whose services appear to have been welcomed; and Virginia, becoming established as a penal colony, had its numbers thus regularly recruited. We have seen parties of young females early transmitted thither; and the cheerful welcome which they received, with the large value in tobacco given for them, invited a succession of such cargoes; but, amid the urgent demand, scrutiny into character was greatly abated. Lands were granted to all who would undertake the expense of transporting themselves, which is estimated by a contemporary at £20; being for apparel, arms, furniture, implements, £11; passage, £6; freight of a ton of goods, £3. The most needy, however, could obtain a passage, by coming on their arrival under an indenture to serve five years, upon which masters were easily found to pay all the charges of transport. The classes of emigrants are thus enumerated by a Frenchman who then visited the

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 224. Beverley, p. 51.

settlement:—All British criminals "under the rope;" bankrupts, persons of doubtful character, and others who had no means of support; Irish catholics, and others engaged in insurrections at this turbulent era, were banished hither. From the resort of these destitute classes arose an advantage unusual in a new colony, the facility of procuring servants, who, even after the expiry of their indenture, must often have wanted the substance and steadiness requisite for setting up as independent cultivators. Scope was thus afforded for a very different class, the poorer gentry, and younger sons of high families, who, by grants of land and the investment of a moderate capital, could "live as great lords" in this transatlantic region. Hence the colony, instead of the equality usual in similar societies, and which Mr Bancroft erroneously ascribes to it, was composed of the extremes of the high and the low, the latter in a very dependent situation; and hence an ultra-aristocratic character, and hostility to popular rights, long prevailed. Mr Story mentions the attachment to entails at an early period, as still stronger there than in Britain. The smaller cultivators, of whom there was also a considerable number, being mostly attached to the puritan and popular interest, were the object of proscription, and driven in great numbers to seek a doubtful protection in Maryland. Negro slavery, though already introduced, had not yet reached to any extent. A writer in 1649 estimates the population at about 15,000, and states that there were 20,000 head of cattle, 3000 sheep, 5000 goats, hogs and poultry innumerable, with about 200 horses and mares of an excellent breed. Wheat was raised in considerable plenty for subsistence, but tobacco was the article meant for sale. The plantations reached about 100 miles along the river, having upon it fronts of varying extent, but each stretching backward about 2000 yards.*

* Voyage d'un Francois exilé pour sa Religion, p. 62-65. A Perfect Description of Virginia, 1649, p. 1-4. Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 188, 189.

Tobacco was still the only medium by which wealth was brought into the colony; yet it was viewed with feelings of grief and humiliation, which seem to have always deepened. Berkeley expresses great regret that the wellbeing of Virginia should depend upon a vice which had spread from her to England, and thence over the world. He and all the other patriots maintain, that it was only to be tolerated under the present hard necessity; but that silk, wine, and iron must form the solid basis of prosperity. Had these been duly attended to, it was said, "that excellent country had not held down its desolate head." Incredible efforts were accordingly made to promote the production of those commodities.

The king wrote a letter to Lord Southampton, then treasurer of the Company, "commanding the present setting up of silk and the planting of vines in Virginia;" and instructions for both occupations, by a Frenchman named Banoeil, were annexed. His lordship, not in very strict accordance with his own liberal views, sent out peremptory orders, that "if any one omit the planting of vines and mulberries in an orderly and husbandly manner, they may, by severe censure and punishment, be compelled thereunto." After the vine had been tried from all the southern kingdoms of Europe, that of Greece was brought forward, as possibly better adapted to the climate. In 1650, Edward Williams published, for the use of the planters, voluminous directions for the raising of silk-worms, and also of vines, objects which he earnestly entreated them to prefer to tobacco. Soon after, it was announced that a young lady had made a new and valuable discovery for the feeding of silk-worms in the woods, "to the instant wonderful enriching of all the planters." The method was so easy, that even the Indians might be immediately set upon it, which would issue, it was hoped, in their civilisation and conversion. The greatest interest seems to have been excited by this discovery, numerous poems were addressed to the benefactress of

America, and the Virginian ladies were urged to emulate her example. All was in vain; for after a few efforts the colonists were obliged to fall back upon the despised tobacco, and for the simple reason that nothing else would bring in money.*

Meantime, the great civil contest was waged in England, which terminated in the death of Charles I., the temporary downfal of the throne and aristocracy, and the establishment of a republic. These proceedings were in the highest degree distasteful to the high church and monarchy men of Virginia. They not only declined all concurrence, but announced a determination to resist them at the peril of their lives. On the execution of the king, his exiled son was immediately proclaimed sovereign, and his rule continued in the American colony, after it had ceased in every part of his European dominions. He forwarded to Sir William Berkeley a fresh commission, authorizing him to erect fortifications; and, in return, that governor transmitted to Charles assurances of the most ardent zeal for his house, and hinted an invitation that he should take up his residence in the New World.

The leaders of the Long Parliament, statesmen of the highest vigour, and flushed with their signal triumph, were not likely to allow their power to be braved by an infant colony beyond the seas. In 1650, a memorable ordinance was passed, in which this republican body laid down maxims, afterwards considered so tyrannical as to drive all America into rebellion and separation. It recited, "that colonies planted at the cost of

* His Majesty's gracious Letter to the Earle of Southampton, &c. Also a Treatise and Instructions, &c., by John Banoeil, Frenchman. Published by Authority. London, 1622.—A Discourse and View of Virginia, 1662. It is added in an old handwriting, "By the famous Sir William Berckley," and the contents seem to confirm this statement.—Virginia's Discovery of Silk Worms. By Ed. Williams, 1650.—A rare and new Discovery, by a young Lady, of a Speedy Way and Easie Means for the Feeding of Silk Worms in the Woods; she having made full proof thereof in May, Anno 1652. Wodenothe, Leadenhall Street.

and settled by the people and by the authority of this nation, are and ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon England; that they ever have been and ought to be subject to such laws and regulations as are or shall be made by the parliament." Proceeding still farther, on the ground that divers acts of rebellion had been committed by the Virginians, who had set themselves in opposition to the power of the commonwealth, the edict declared them "notorious robbers and traitors," forbade all intercourse with them, and authorized the sending of a fleet to reduce them to obedience.

On condition of acknowledging the commonwealth, they were offered a free pardon, and all the privileges now enjoyed by the English people; while in case of resistance, war was to be waged with unsparing energy, and even the negro slaves and indentured servants were to be armed against their masters. In pursuance of these instructions, Sir George Ayscue, a distinguished naval commander, was sent out with a strong fleet, having on board a body of troops. For the settlement of the civil government, five commissioners were nominated, two of whom, Bennet and Cleyborne, belonged to Virginia, but had distinguished themselves there by opposition to the ruling party.

In March 1652, Ayscue anchored in Chesapeake Bay, when the colonists, listening to the dictates of prudence rather than of heroism, and without drawing a sword, opened a negotiation with the invaders. The terms were liberal, chiefly, it should seem, because the parliament had no wish to impose others. The Virginians obtained a complete amnesty; they were promised a trade as free as that of England, and were confirmed in all their political rights. They obtained even a new privilege in the election of their own governor; but that this was merely nominal, seems proved by their unanimous choice of Bennet, the chief parliamentary commissioner, who, for his puritan and republican principles, had shortly before been banished from the colony. Mr Bancroft seems strangely misled by an amiable enthu-

siasm, when he considers this as the spontaneous result of a sudden harmony which had pervaded all hearts. It was manifestly produced by the cannon of Ayscue's fleet; and the unanimity in favour of one recently proscribed, affords the clearest evidence that the royalists felt no option was left to them. Bennet appears, however, to have been a respectable and moderate man, whose personal wrongs did not impel him to any vindictive measures.*

The interests of the colony were more seriously affected through an act passed by parliament in 1652, restricting the traffic of the colonies to the mother-country. This certainly appears, as Mr Graham observes, a breach of the capitulation allowing them a trade as free as that of England. Mr Bancroft contends that the regulation was never enforced, nor meant to be so, in regard to Virginia. Yet this seems inconsistent with facts furnished by himself; for why then should the colonists in 1656 have had occasion to present a remonstrance to Cromwell on the subject? Confiscations, it is admitted, were made, though by the authority of the assembly; but that body, we suspect, must have acted under the weight of English dictation. We are, however, inclined to believe that the restriction was not enforced with great rigour; and that the advancing prosperity of the colony was rather promoted by the new system. It put an end to the persecution of the puritans, by which many industrious citizens had been driven away; and, with the exception only of the quakers, complete religious liberty was established.

Bennet, for what reason does not appear, retired from the government early in 1655; and the assembly supplied his place by Edward Diggs, of whom nothing particular is recorded. Early in 1658, another vacancy occurred, when the office was filled by Samuel Matthews, an old hospitable planter, and "a most deserving commonwealth's man;" which last quality, we suspect, was still rendered

* Chalmers, pp. 123, 124. Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 227, 239-242.

necessary by the dread of English authority. The assembly took advantage, however, of the liberal ideas newly introduced to extend their own functions; and they succeeded in ejecting from their sittings the governor and council, whose power of voting had greatly restricted their independence. They enlarged the elective franchise, which was made to include all freemen; the indented servants being allowed to exercise it at the expiration of their term. They obliged the governor to yield the right of dissolving them; and when he threatened an appeal to the supreme tribunal at home, they deposed and then re-elected him, on condition of submitting to their terms. They thus centred in themselves nearly all the powers of the state. Finally, taking advantage, we suspect, of Cromwell's inattention rather than receiving his sanction, they threw open their commerce to all the world.

On the death of the Protector being announced, the assembly without hesitation recognised his son Richard, taking precautions, however, that their newly obtained privileges should not be abridged. On receiving the notice of his forced abdication, they proved the unaltered state of their political feelings by recalling to the government their old favourite, Sir William Berkeley. This, however, did not amount, as has been sometimes supposed, to a premature recognition of Charles II. It was declared by both parties to be merely a provisional measure amid the present distractions, and until some positive instructions could be received from England. But it was a daring step, which would doubtless have drawn down the resentment of the republican party, could they have retained their power. All apprehensions were removed by the intelligence of the restoration of the young king, an event which, though it made a gloomy impression on other colonies, was received here with the highest exultation. Berkeley, with general consent, exercised his functions of governor under the royal commission. In his majesty's name he called an assembly, the composition of which clearly showed

that the general will had not before been fully represented, since, of the members of the preceding parliament, only eight were re-elected.*

The aristocratic rule was thus fully restored; but its influence in many respects was not auspicious. The exclusive establishment of the English church, and the persecution of dissenters, which had deprived the country of so many valuable citizens, was renewed in all their rigour.† The suffrage, which under the commonwealth had been made universal, was limited now to freeholders and householders, leaving the range still sufficiently wide. A more serious innovation respected the period of sitting, which had been made biennial, and was not indeed altered by law; but the assembly actually prolonged its own duration for ten or twelve successive years, and showed even then no intention of dissolving, had circumstances not compelled them. All means of instructing and enlightening the people were systematically discouraged.‡

The Restoration exposed the colonists to another great evil, which they seemed to have little reason to apprehend. The Navigation Act, passed under the commonwealth, limiting their commerce to the mother-country, had been much evaded, and latterly altogether disregarded. Its provisions, however, were now re-enacted with increased rigour, and with strict rules for their enforcement; and the merchants of England, imbued with the erroneous notions then prevalent respecting the advantages derivable from such monopolies, used all their influence in its support. Even Charles showed a zeal on the subject which could scarcely have

* Chalmers, p. 123-125. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 242-249; vol. ii. p. 196. We have been chiefly indebted to the latter gentleman for the events of this period, though we have been obliged to take a somewhat opposite view of their scope and tenor.

† Mr Bancroft labours to prove that this was a new spirit, that of Virginia being originally democratic. We think, however, it has been clearly established that it rested from the first on an aristocratic basis, and submitted to popular rule only from necessity.

‡ Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 201-207. Beverley, p. 58.

been expected from his careless temper. The Virginians requested Berkeley to repair to London and plead their cause, which he seems to have done zealously. He represented the low state to which the colony was reduced by the depression in the price of tobacco, their only exportable staple; wine and silk having hitherto failed. At present, it could ill afford the £40,000 which the monopoly cost, and all of which went to enrich a few English merchants. He urged, with or without reason, that while the turbulent New Englanders hesitated not to evade or disregard these regulations, the loyal Virginians submitted, and became the victims of their obedience. All these arguments were vainly urged to a nation and sovereign who regarded the measure with such fond partiality.*

An internal cause still more cruelly interrupted the success of the colony. The Indians, once so hostile, had for a long time been overawed or conciliated; but the Susquehannas, a singularly fierce tribe, having been driven from the north by the Five Nations, began to commit depredations upon the frontiers. The colonists on the border, possessing doubtless much of the lawless character of back-settlers, violently retaliated. Six chiefs, sent by the Indians to treat for peace, were seized and put to death; and the just indignation expressed by Berkeley at this outrage gave great offence. After war had raged some time, that people again made pacific overtures, but without success. The governor, however, endeavoured to second their object, and to mitigate the ferocious spirit which now animated the colonists. These humane efforts were adverse to their present disposition, and lost to him that popularity which he had so long enjoyed, while his views and even his errors were in unison with theirs. The consequences soon proved disastrous.

Nathaniel Bacon, son of a respectable family in Suffolk,

* Chalmers, p. 311-317. Discourse and View of Virginia (by Sir W. Berkeley), 1662.

carried out the unusual fortune of £1800, and, possessing an uncommon share of address, eloquence, and intelligence, acquired great influence and a seat in the council. Having formed a border plantation on the upper part of James river, he found the war raging with the Indians, who carried it on with their usual cruelties. Ill-informed perhaps of the wrongs by which they had been impelled, he sympathized with the sufferings of his countrymen, and entertained an eager desire for revenge. A farm of his own being attacked, and the servant killed, he took up arms without the knowledge of Berkeley, and rallying round him all inspired by similar sentiments, was soon at the head of 500 men. The governor denounced this armament as rebellious, and issued a mandate to disperse, which was partly obeyed. His attention was distracted, however, by a rising of the popular party in the lower province, to resist the aristocratic ascendant. The two interests became united; and the government, unable to resist, were obliged to agree that the assembly, having now sat an exorbitant time, should be dissolved, and a new one elected. The result was entirely on the popular side; universal suffrage was restored; all arbitrary taxation abolished; and various abuses suppressed, though without any vindictive proceedings against their authors. Bacon had at first been made prisoner; but on so strong a manifestation of the assembly's will, he was set at liberty, and even promised a commission; but this was ultimately refused. He then secretly withdrew, and assembled 500 or 600 men, with whom he became complete master of the seat of government. Sir William strenuously resisted; and, with the boldness of an old cavalier, bared his breast to the adversary, saying, "A fair mark—shoot!" Bacon declared they did not wish to hurt a hair of his head, but only desired a commission to save their lives from the Indians. The authority was granted to him, and he marched to the frontier.

As soon, however, as the immediate pressure was removed, the governor, rashly as it should seem, published a proclamation, reversing all the proceedings of the as-

sembly, and again declaring Bacon a traitor. This step immediately kindled a civil war. That daring chief marched back towards Jamestown, and was joined by numerous adherents of the popular class. The property of the royalists was confiscated, their wives seized, and carried along with the troops as hostages; and these violences being retaliated, wide devastation was spread over the country. Berkeley, meantime, had assembled in the capital his friends, with some seamen landed from vessels in the harbour. Here, however, they were soon besieged, and being repulsed in a sally, found themselves no match for the hardy borderers. It was necessary to evacuate the town during the night, and withdraw his entire force to the eastern shore, leaving the whole west in possession of the insurgents.

Bacon now acted entirely as ruler of Virginia, and declaring the governor to have abdicated, summoned an assembly in his own name. It was determined to resist any attempts from the mother-country to restore Berkeley to power, and, indeed, the resolution was almost fixed to throw off its yoke altogether. As Jamestown might afford a position for establishing an English force, the violent measure was adopted of devoting it to the flames. This was executed with such ruthless determination, that the fires being kindled in the night, there remained in the morning scarcely a vestige of that original capital, which has never again reared its head. Nothing now appeared to remain but to cross the river and drive before them the discouraged remnant of Berkeley's forces. Suddenly, however, the leader sickened, and, after a short illness, died; a catastrophe that put an end to the insurrection, which, after all, had not any deep root among the nation. Its temporary success seems to have been owing to the union of the border settlers with the popular faction; but the latter, forming still a decided minority, could not permanently support it. Several of the leaders attempted to make a stand, but were successively reduced and taken by Beverley, an active royalist chief. The governor, whose feelings

seem throughout the whole transaction to have been greatly excited, acted now with excessive rigour. Twenty persons were hanged, and it is supposed that a greater number would have endured the same punishment, had not the assembly presented an address entreating "that he would spill no more blood." One of the deputies said, "had we let him alone, he would have hanged half the country." Charles II., whose disposition was not cruel, exclaimed, "the old fool has taken away more lives than I for the murder of my father," and issued a proclamation censuring this conduct as derogatory to his clemency.* Sir William was recalled, and his place temporarily supplied by Colonel Jeffereys, who, with two others, constituted a commission of inquiry. They seem to have made it very searching, with even a friendly disposition towards the people. The different counties were invited to produce statements of grievances, and the records of the assembly were forced from their clerk,—a measure against which they strongly remonstrated. A report was drawn up, in which, while the conduct of the insurgents was strongly condemned, that of the government and several members of the council was also censured. These reflections against Berkeley are supposed to have hastened his death, which took place before he had an interview with the king. The assembly then felt a revival of their old attachment. They passed a vote, declaring, that he had been an excellent governor, and recommended a grant to Lady Berkeley of £300. Jeffereys, during his short administration, had the satisfaction of putting an end, on approved terms, to the Indian war.†

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 216-234. Chalmers, pp. 332-335, 350. Strange News from Virginia, being a full and true Account of the Life and Death of Nathaniel Bacon, Esq. London, 1677. This contemporary pamphlet, which seems to have been unknown to Mr Bancroft, has enabled us to give a few additional particulars. We have been much indebted to him for other facts, though we could not concur in his lofty estimate of Bacon's character, which appears to us prompted by those enthusiastic feelings to which he occasionally yields.

† Chalmers, pp. 337, 338.

We must now mention, that in 1649, after the death of Charles I., several royalist noblemen had obtained a grant of the territory between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, called the Northern Neck of Virginia, with the view of making it a place of refuge for their adherents. This donation, owing to the ruin of their cause, did not then take effect; and in 1669, the owners sold their rights to Lords Culpepper and Arlington. The former, in 1673, procured also from the thoughtless monarch a lease for thirty-one years of the quit-rents, escheats, and other casualties, of all Virginia. The colonists sent a deputation, strenuously to remonstrate against this arrangement, as interfering with the actual state of property and occupation; but though they received favourable promises, they did not ultimately succeed. On the contrary, Charles now granted a patent to Culpepper as governor for life; who, aiming only at gain, was in no haste to take possession of so troubled a country, and went at last only in obedience to an urgent mandate from the king.

The colony was found tolerably quiet, and a general amnesty was proclaimed, with very few exceptions. Penalties were enacted against those who should defame the administration, propagate false news, and maliciously stir up the people against the governor. Limits were set to the popular composition of the assembly, as well as to the frequency and duration of its sittings. An appeal from the courts, hitherto allowed to that body, was now vested solely in the crown. After all, the severest suffering arose from the extremely low price still brought by tobacco; and hence the desperate expedient was imagined, of entirely suspending its cultivation for a year. The assembly passed an act to that effect, which was negatived by the crown; yet so bent were the colonists upon it, that they formed an association to destroy all that was planted within the period. This spirit rose to a sort of rebellion, and was put down only by some severe examples. An act was also passed to promote cohabitation, or the formation of towns, with a view to establish

manufactures. This was a premature attempt to force a branch for which the country was by no means ripe; yet the negative on it from England, being inspired probably by monopolizing views, caused great discontent.*

Culpepper was avaricious and unpopular. He raised his own allowance to an exorbitant height; he altered the value of the coin; he appeared to dislike the settlement as a residence, making only two short compulsory visits. He enforced also in a grasping manner his proprietory patent. Heavy complaints were sent home, to which Charles, who regretted perhaps having parted with so much power, not unwillingly listened. His commission as governor was subjected to the decision of a jury of Middlesex, who declared it forfeited. Virginia became again a royal colony, and no future ruler held his office except at the pleasure of the crown.

Lord Howard of Effingham, who succeeded, did not render himself more acceptable, being accused of studying profit still more devotedly, and of securing it by the meanest practices. He established a court of chancery with exorbitant fees, and is alleged to have shared the emoluments of this and other departments with his own clerks. He carried with him very arbitrary instructions against printing, and for the enforcement of the navigation act, which had begun to be relaxed. He terminated, however, an Indian war; the assembly passed some useful laws, and though, from the low price of its staple, wealth did not flow in, the population probably continued to multiply.

James II. continued Lord Effingham, and of course his arbitrary system. Yet his declarations in favour of toleration, though made for the interest of the catholics, procured some relief to the oppressions endured by the dissenters. A casual advantage arose from the excessive rigour against the adherents of Monmouth. When Jefferies and Kirke had sated themselves with blood, a number of minor offenders were adjudged to servitude

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 209-211. Chalmers, p. 340-343. Beverley, p. 81.

in Virginia for ten years. The courtiers eagerly contended for lots of these exiles, who made a valuable addition to the population; and after the Revolution they received a pardon.*

Effingham, apparently disgusted with the discontent of the people, returned to England in 1688, followed by Philip Ludwell, who, as agent for the assembly, brought heavy charges against him. These fell under the cognizance of William III.; but that monarch, being, for the colonies at least, by no means popularly inclined, determined mostly in his favour. He was reinstated, on condition, however, of exercising his functions by a deputy, Colonel Nicholson. The latter was furnished with very arbitrary instructions, and desired even to avoid if possible the calling of an assembly. But, being an intelligent man, he soon saw that this was out of the question, and summoned one with a good grace. Many of the colonists were gaily disposed, and he instituted races and trials of skill in shooting, wrestling, and other exercises, with which they were highly gratified. Finding also a laudable desire to emerge out of the profound ignorance in which they had been so studiously kept, he provided a royal donative for the foundation of a college named William and Mary. This seminary, the first established in the southern settlements, excited an intense interest, and persons crowded from all the neighbouring colonies to witness its opening. He seconded also for some time their favourite scheme of cohabitation and manufactures, but was obliged to desist by orders from home.

In 1692, the government was conferred on Sir Edward Andros, while Nicholson went as his lieutenant to Maryland. This appointment on the part of William was little expected, the deputy having had in New England the reputation of an oppressive tool of the despotism of James. His arrival accordingly excited the most sinister apprehensions, which were happily disappointed. Being

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 246-251. Chalmers, p. 344-348.

a man of sense and ability, he accommodated himself to changed circumstances, pursued the course of his predecessor with more judgment, and enjoyed still greater popularity. In six years he was recalled, and the colonists again got Nicholson; but a very unfavourable change had taken place in his character. Of a bold and aspiring disposition, he had formed the plan of a general combination of the colonies for mutual defence. A pecuniary contingent was to be paid by each, to be placed at the king's disposal for maintaining troops and erecting forts. This plan obtained the hearty consent of William, and the governor, hoping to be placed at its head, most zealously promoted it. He was deeply disappointed when the assembly met it by an unqualified rejection. He induced the king to recommend the measure to them, but without effect, and his majesty did not choose to take any stronger course. Nicholson, completely chagrined, took every opportunity of representing the Virginians in an unfavourable light, and recommending an abridgment of their liberties. He described them to the ministers of Anne as imbued with "republican notions and principles, such as ought to be corrected, and lowered in time;" complaining that "those wrong pernicious notions were improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all her majesty's other governments." In subsequent memorials, he suggested that all the American colonies should be reduced under one viceroy, and a standing army maintained. But though jealous feelings were thus infused, the English ministers were not rash enough to involve themselves in such a scheme; and, in 1704, Nicholson was recalled.*

He was succeeded by the Earl of Orkney, who held the office thirty-six years, but merely as a sinecure. He or the ministers, however, were happy in their settlement of deputies. Edward Nott, the first, and still more his successor, Alexander Spotswood, gave the highest satisfaction. The latter not only promoted internal

* Beverley p. 90-97.

improvement, but undertook an expedition to the westward of the Alleghany. This barrier, after numerous obstacles, was passed, though no settlements were yet attempted. He, however, strongly recommended the formation of a chain of forts along this frontier, to keep in check the encroachments of the French from Canada and Louisiana; but the government were not disposed to spend large sums in guarding against a danger so little imminent.

Virginia, from this period till the peace of 1763, enjoyed an uninterrupted prosperity, with so few internal vicissitudes that they have escaped the notice of history. She was engaged in military operations against the French and their Indian allies; but as these were common to the whole range of states, we prefer to make them with some other matters the subject of a general chapter.

CHAPTER V.

Maryland.

Calvert, Lord Baltimore—His Favour with James and Charles I.—Obtains a Charter for Maryland—Settlement of the Colony—Indian War—Internal Administration—Contests with Cleyborne—His Character—Transactions with the Assembly—Insurrection—Division into Two Houses—Influx of Protestants from Virginia—Their Discontents—Lord Baltimore's Transactions with the Parliament—Commission sent out—Alters the Government—The Proprietor appeals to Parliament—Unfavourable Report of the Committee—His Negotiations with Cromwell—His Government restored—Again put down—Fresh Attempt to re-establish it—Civil War—Defeat of his Party—Various Transactions—He regains Power at the Restoration—Subsequent State of the Colony—The Revolution transfers it to the Crown—Afterwards restored to the Baltimore Family.

Although the colonization of Maryland took place at a later period than that of New England, its relations with Virginia are so close, that these colonies will be best considered in connexion with each other.

The Virginian company, by their second charter, had assigned to them a region of vast extent, including, doubtless, the heads of the great bays of Delaware and Chesapeake. This grant, we have seen, was forfeited; yet the colonists continued anxiously to claim and consider the whole as Virginia, though their title could not stand against the regal power influenced by the solicitations of a favourite. Sir George Calvert had been secretary of state under James I., but having become a convert to the Romish religion, he was excluded from

office, and seems thenceforth to have directed his ambition wholly to colonial enterprise. The change had not withdrawn the court favour, particularly of Charles I. and his queen Henrietta Maria. He therefore easily obtained a liberal grant in Newfoundland, which he made great exertions to settle and improve; but finding his expectations fallacious, he was attracted by the much more promising territory on the Chesapeake, and actually went out thither to negotiate arrangements for a colony. Virginia, as we have already seen, was established on a system of complete religious exclusion; so that immediately on his arrival the oath of supremacy was tendered to him, which induced his speedy departure. He possessed, nevertheless, in royal influence the means not only of securing his own interest, but of avenging himself for those hostile proceedings. He obtained from Charles the gift of an extensive region which Virginia had fondly cherished as her own, extending from the southern bank of the Potomac northwards to the 40th degree of latitude, and thus including the upper part of the bay of Chesapeake, and the whole of that of Delaware. In compliment to the queen, who is understood to have warmly seconded his views, it was named Maryland.

The influence and favour enjoyed by Calvert, now created Lord Baltimore, are strikingly proved by the terms of the grant. Charles, notwithstanding his despotic feelings, reserved neither the right of taxation nor of giving laws; these were to be exercised by the proprietor, with the assent of the freemen or their deputies, whose assembly was to be made "in such sort and form as to him should seem best." Moreover, in emergencies, when there was not time to call them together, he might of himself make "fit and wholesome ordinances," not stated as temporary, but "to be inviolably observed." By a very singular clause, meant, it should seem, to blind the public at home, he was empowered to found churches and chapels, "according to the ecclesiastical law of England." He might also train, muster,

Cecil, Lord Baltimore.

and call out troops, exercise all the functions of captain-general, and, in case of rebellion or sedition, proclaim martial law. He had likewise the nomination of the judges and all other officers. Nothing being left to the crown but the usual empty claim of the royal mines, Maryland became, what indeed the proprietor terms it, a separate monarchy.*

George, the first Lord Baltimore, died before the completion of the charter, which was therefore granted to his son Cecil, on whom devolved the establishment of the colony. He appears to have applied himself to the task with activity and judgment; and states that he spent upon it above £20,000 from his own funds, and an

* The charter which I have used is in the British Museum, without title-page, but dated 20th June, 8th year. See Bancroft, vol. i. p. 259; Chalmers, p. 201-205; but they have omitted some of its most important provisions.

equal sum raised among his friends. Warned by Virginian disasters, he avoided from the first all chimerical projects, and placed his establishment entirely on an agricultural basis. Every one who carried out five persons, male or female, paying their expenses, estimated at £20 each, was to receive 1000 acres. Those defraying their own charges got 100 for themselves, and the same for each adult member of their family; for children under six years, 50 acres. The rent was 2s. for each 100 acres. Lord Baltimore did not rule in person, nor, so far as we can trace, even visit the colony, at least till after the Restoration. Two of his brothers, however, acted successively as governors, and died there.

In November 1633, Leonard Calvert set sail with the first emigrants, consisting of about 200 persons, including a son of Sir Thomas Gerard, one of Sir Thomas Wiseman, and two of Lady Wintour. In February he touched at Point Comfort in Virginia, where his arrival was by no means acceptable; nevertheless Sir John Harvey, in obedience to the express orders of Charles, gave him a courteous reception. Early in March he entered the Potomac, to the people on the shores of which the sight of so large a vessel was quite new, and caused the utmost astonishment. The report was, that a canoe was approaching as big as an island, with men standing in it thick as trees in a forest; and they thought with amazement how enormous must have been the trunk out of which it had been hollowed. A piece of ordnance, resounding for the first time on the shores of this mighty river, caused the whole country to tremble. The intercourse, however, appears to have been judiciously conducted, and was, on the whole, very amicable. Calvert sailed up to Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite the present site of Mount Vernon, where the chief received him with kindness, saying, "he would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay; he might use his own discretion." On reflection, he considered the place too far up the river, and therefore the vessel was moved down to a tributary named then St George's,

and now St Mary's. Ascending it four leagues, he came to a considerable Indian town, named Yoacomoco; and being hospitably received, as well as pleased with the situation, he determined to fix his colony there. The werowannee accepted an invitation on board, and Sir John Harvey having just arrived from Virginia, the chief was led down to the cabin, and seated at dinner between the two governors. An alarm having spread among the people on shore that he was detained as a prisoner, they made the banks echo with shouts of alarm; the Indian attendants durst not go to them, but when he himself appeared on deck, they were satisfied. He became so much attached to the English as to declare, that if they should kill him he would not wish his death avenged, being sure that he must have deserved his fate. Amid these dispositions, it was not difficult to negotiate the formation of a settlement. For hatchets, hoes, knives, cloth, and other articles of probably very small original cost, the strangers not only obtained a large tract of land, but were allowed by the inhabitants to occupy immediately half of their village, with the corn growing adjacent to it, and, at the end of harvest, were to receive the whole. Thus our countrymen were at once comfortably established, without those severe hardships which usually attend an infant settlement.*

This good understanding was prolonged for a number of years; but at length, in 1642, the emigrants had the usual misfortune of being involved in a war with the natives. For two years they suffered all its distressing and harassing accompaniments, which, in 1644, were happily terminated by a treaty, the conditions of which, and some acts of assembly immediately following, seem to prove that the evil had arisen entirely from the interested proceedings of individuals. The prohibition of kidnapping the Indians, and of selling arms to them, show

* Relation of the Successful Beginnings of Lord Baltimore's Plantation. 1634, pp. 3, 4. A Relation of Maryland. Lond. 1635, pp. 2-4, 6, 9, 22.

the existence of these culpable practices. This peace was of long duration, and the Maryland government seem, on the whole, to have acted more laudably towards this race than any other, that of Penn excepted.*

We turn now to the domestic administration; and here, if we may believe modern historians, Maryland was more fortunate than almost any other country that ever existed. It was, or at least ought to have been, a terrestrial paradise. Chalmers, Bancroft, and Grahame have vied with each other in panegyrics upon Lord Baltimore and his rule. "Never," says the first, "did a people enjoy more real happiness, or were more grateful for it, than were the inhabitants of Maryland under Cecilius." Mr Bancroft, who gives full scope to his enthusiasm, asserts that it "was unsurpassed for happiness and liberty. Conscience was without restraint; a mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required; domestic union, a happy concert between all the branches of government, an increasing emigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil, united to perfect the scene of colonial felicity and contentment." As our inquiries have led us to adopt a view of the subject somewhat different, it may be necessary to enter into it at greater length, and in a more controversial tone, than were otherwise desirable. Even in perusing their narratives we were much surprised to find this favoured colony agitated by internal commotions, more frequent and violent than any other in America; and the reiterated assertions that the blame was always on the side of the governed, seemed to require confirmation. This impression has been strongly confirmed in examining several documents of the highest importance, unknown to our predecessors.† Chalmers, whom the

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 272. Chalmers, p. 216.

† We may mention in particular the following:—The Lord Baltimore's Case concerning the Province of Maryland. Lond. 1653. Evidently written by his lordship himself, or under his direction.—Virginia and Maryland; or the Lord Baltimore's printed Case uncased and answered. London, 1655. A reply to

others have blindly followed, appears to us to have resolved to consider the Baltimores as a race of perfect beings, and every one opposed to them as the worst of mankind. To us they appear to be imbued with a full portion of human infirmity.

Our attention is first arrested by the following painful transaction. Captain William Cleyborne, a man of large property, and holding high offices in the colonial government, had opened a considerable trade in furs and other articles on the upper part of the Chesapeake, and even established a settlement on Kent island, where he expended upwards of £6000. The proprietor forthwith called upon him to yield up all these establishments as lying within the range of his patent. Cleyborne, very little disposed to consent, referred the claim to the council of Virginia, who expressed their astonishment that it should ever have been even mentioned. The demand certainly appears to have been one of extreme hardship. The captain some years before had received from the king a patent for trade, though not indeed for plantation; but this last object was attended with such expense, hazard, and

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the above. Among other important documents it contains the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of Maryland.—An additional brief Narrative of a late bloody Design against the Protestants in Ann Arundel Country and Severn in Maryland, as also of the extraordinary Deliverance of those poor oppressed People. Set forth by Roger Heamans, Commander of the ship Golden Lyon, an Eye-witness. A Relation, by a zealous Puritan, of the chief civil Contest in the Colony.—Hammond *v.* Heamans; an Answer to an audacious Pamphlet by an impudent and ridiculous Fellow named Roger Heamans, &c. By a Sufferer in those Calamities. An imbittered reply; but contains useful information and documents.

The following may be quoted as completing the materials for the chief civil contest.

Babylon's Fall in Maryland. By John Strong. 1655. A zealous puritan pamphlet, as its strange title imports.—Refutation of a false and scandalous Pamphlet, entitled Babylon's Fall, &c. by John Langford. As he states himself to have been twenty years in Lord Baltimore's service, there seems little room for the implicit faith with which his views have been received. He appears, however, an honest man, not guilty of intentional misstatements.

difficulty, that not permission merely, but ample encouragement had always been considered due to the undertaker. That on Kent island had been fully sanctioned by the local authorities, within whose recognised limits it then was, and the inhabitants had a right to send two burgesses to the assembly. Situated near the opposite coast of the Chesapeake, it did not materially interfere with the new plantation, and ages must have elapsed before the two could come into contact.

The influence of the proprietor, however, was powerful at home. The Virginians, though they obeyed the order to afford aid to the new colonists, presented a strong remonstrance on the severe discouragement and loss sustained by the severing of so fine a portion of their territory, which they had already partly occupied. By a sentence of the Star-chamber, however, of 5th July 1633, the members present "did think fit to leave Lord Baltimore to his patent, and the other parties to the course of law, according to their desire." They ordered, meanwhile, that, "*things standing as they do*," the planters on either side shall have free traffic and commerce each with the other,—and lastly, that "they shall sincerely entertain all good correspondence, and assist each other on all occasions, in such manner as becometh fellow-subjects and members of the same state."* Notwithstanding this injunction, and another of the same tenor, expressly relating to the dispute with Cleyborne, his lordship determined to proceed to immediate extremities. An act of attainder was passed against the other in the Maryland assembly; a hostile armament was fitted out; and the Longtail, a merchant vessel belonging to him, was captured after a contest in which the captain and several of the crew were killed. This was followed by other encounters; and at length, by a midnight assault, the isle of Kent was carried, and the principal planters either made prisoners, or forced to seek safety in flight.*

* Chalmers, pp. 211, 212; 230-232. Virginia and Maryland, p. 12-27.

Cleyborne, now repairing to England, laid his wrongs before the king,* when Charles, in a letter to the proprietor, on the 14th July 1638, expresses a strong and apparently a just indignation. He refers to a former order that Cleyborne and his associates "should in no sort be interrupted in their trade or plantation by you, but rather be encouraged to proceed cheerfully in so good a work;" then adverting to the violences committed, commands them to cease, and that no further molestation be given to these persons or their agents, till the case should be decided.

On the 4th April 1639, however, the Commissioners of Plantations pronounced their decision in a very different tone. They state that, by the admission of Cleyborne, who was present, his patent, which had also been granted only under the great seal of Scotland, was exclusively for trade, not for settlement; that the island was admitted by him to be within the limits of Lord Baltimore's patent; and therefore that he had not the slightest claim to either. It concluded, "concerning the violences and wrongs by the said Cleyborne and the rest complained of, they did now also declare, that they found no cause at all to relieve them, but do leave both sides therein to the ordinary course of justice."

By what agency so remarkable a change was effected does not fully appear. Chalmers admits the probable influence of Lord Strafford, then in the height of his power, and long a friend of the Baltimore family. But we incline to suspect another cause. The great contest between the king and the parliament was now begun, and Cleyborne embraced with zeal the popular side. This Chalmers, and after him Grahame, impute solely to interested views, though on no ground, except their determination to ascribe to him always the worst mo-

* Mr Bancroft, p. 267, represents him as seized by Sir John Harvey, and sent home to answer charges against him. The learned author does not quote his authority, and we have in vain sought for any. All the documents exhibit him in England as a plaintiff, never as an accused person.

tives possible. The particulars are little known; but this part appears to have been taken before the triumph of the parliamentary cause was at all decided, and while he could derive from it no result, except that of forfeiting the favour both of the court and of the Virginian government.

As this personage acts a conspicuous part in Maryland history, we shall notice the representation generally given of him by modern historians, as a ruffian who had fled from that colony, covered with crimes and infamy. In Chalmers' eyes, regarded as the enemy of his idol, he of course was such; but why Grahame and Bancroft should have so implicitly followed this historian, we cannot discover. In the foregoing decision, though so hostile in its tenor, and though his enemies had a full hearing, there is not the most distant allusion to his having this character; nor does any such charge occur in the imbittered pamphlets written during the troublous period that succeeded. We have observed that he was a man of large property, who had borne high situations in the government; and we shall see him afterwards placed in the most important offices by the parliamentary leaders, who, though zealous partisans, were men of virtue and principle.

The same writers impute to him the crime of instigating the Indians to wage war against his countrymen. The only foundation for this is a passage in the earliest account of the colony, written by a follower of Leonard Calvert, where he is accused of infusing groundless jealousies into the mind of the King of Patuxent; and a paper on the subject appears to have been then sent home to the plantation office.* There is no other allusion by a contemporary to such a charge. When we consider that the war did not break out till eight years subsequently to this period, and four after Cleyborne had been completely driven out of Maryland, the reference of it to him seems strained indeed. Had Lord Baltimore

* Relation, 1635, p. 11. Chalmers, p. 232-235.

been able to bring the accusation home, nothing could have more fully justified his violent proceedings; and the total silence in his Case, and in every thing written under his influence, affords the strongest presumption of its being without foundation.

In considering now the internal management of the colony, the most prominent feature is the proclamation made of complete liberty of conscience and worship to all sects who acknowledged the fundamental truths of Christianity. This appears to be the main ground of that enthusiasm in his cause with which he has inspired so many writers. The principle, doubtless, deserves the highest applause, and stands remarkably forth in an age when almost every party followed a course diametrically opposite. Yet, without breach of charity, there may be room for inquiring, whether this declaration was not necessarily dictated by circumstances, and whether it was faithfully observed. The reader may be reminded that James II. set out with the very same profession, and scarcely went beyond it, although there can be no doubt of his really bigoted views and intentions. Sir George Calvert, having become a Roman catholic, and resigned power in consequence, gave proof of the purity of his religious feelings, but did not afford a presumption that they were either very large or liberal. His sentiments in favour of toleration will hardly be admitted by any reader of a pamphlet in which he endeavours to dissuade James I. from aiding the protestant cause in Germany. He does not, it is true, venture to attack the established church, but studiously seeks to exasperate the prejudices of that prince against the Puritans or Calvinists. He defines the latter as "thoroughly factious, and, under cloake of zeale, *carnifex regum*;" and elsewhere says, "Calvinism never got sure footing in any country but desolation followed."* As matters, however, stood at home, he dared not to have established a colony on the principle of exclusive

* Answer to Tom Telltroth, by Lord Baltimore, p. 1-3.

Romanism, and of the open persecution of protestants. This clearly appears from the singular clause in the charter respecting the Church of England. It was only under cover of the most extended toleration, that the papists, the most hated and dreaded of all the sects, could obtain the religious freedom to which they were entitled: and that liberal principles were professed mainly with a view to their benefit, seems clearly proved by early documents. Thus, in the oaths required of the governor and of the council of state, while they bind themselves to molest no Christian for his worship, it is added, "particularly no Roman catholic." Considering that a great majority of the colonists and all the rulers were of this creed, there appears little room for such a peculiar apprehension; while, with respect to the few protestants, none had been felt. An early act of assembly declared, that "holy church within this province shall have all her rights and liberties." Both Chalmers and Bancroft, who do not dispute that this reference pointed to the papal communion, own themselves puzzled by the vote, though the latter contends that it could only mean the tranquil exercise of their religion. Allowing this to be the case, although the words seem to indicate something much more extensive, we see again the same anxiety to protect the strong against the weak, the many against the few. Have we not here some ground to presume that the partiality which was to be expected in such circumstances did really exist: and may not we grant a hearing to the protestants, who always asserted, that the promises which had drawn them to Maryland were kept indeed to the word, but broken to the sense; that, though not actually debarred from the exercise of their religion, they were treated as an inferior and degraded caste; that insults and even outrages were perpetrated upon them with impunity; and that, in appealing to laws administered by catholic judges, they had little chance of redress?*

* Chalmers, p. 213. Bancroft, vol. i, p. 270. Virginia and Maryland, p. 4-31, &c. They are here said to have been "miserably disturbed, by many ways plainly enforced, or by subtile practices."

These statements may in some degree account for the fact, with which historians so bitterly reproach them, that under a sway described as mild and liberal, they were always restless and discontented, ready even to rise in arms and hazard their lives, when there appeared a hope of emancipation.

On the political administration similar panegyrics have been lavished, which appear to us as little justified by acknowledged facts. We have seen that an assembly of the people or their deputies was in some shape required by the charter; and this could scarcely have been denied to the colonists, after having been sanctioned both in Virginia and New England. The proprietor, however, had secured the power of constituting this assembly in any manner he pleased, and, moreover, of making laws quite binding without their concurrence. Besides these two clauses, which his panegyrists have kept in the background, he reserved also the right of originating statutes, only requiring the consent of the deputies. He accordingly prepared and sent over a complete code, expecting, probably, under the peculiar circumstances, that its acceptance would have been a matter of course. But the Marylanders who, as we must agree with Mr Bancroft, showed always a determined zeal for their franchises, threw it entirely overboard, and prepared another of their own, which they transmitted for his assent. In what spirit it was received is discoverable only from the fact that no part ever appeared in the records; so that it must have been wholly rejected, and probably with no little indignation.* How any adjustment took place between views so widely discordant, cannot be distinctly traced; but the freemen appear to have made good their right of originating laws, subject to the proprietor's negative.

In 1638, an act introduced a new form of representative assembly, instead of that hitherto formed by the freemen in general. Lord Baltimore, then availing himself of the unlimited power given in the charter, inserted a truly extraordinary clause, giving him power

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* Chalmers, p. 211.

to summon his own friends by special writ, seemingly without any limitation of number, to sit and vote along with the burgesses. It is obvious that he had thus full means of swamping all opposition, and of dictating every measure of the assembly. The burgesses, accordingly, soon complained that they then had not even "a negative," to obtain which they demanded, that they should sit in one house, and the Baltimore nominees in another. But the "mild and liberal proprietary" put a decided negative on such a change. Under the assembly thus modelled, he was granted 5 per cent. on tobacco exported; all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance to him; and the act above recited was passed in favour of the Romish church.*

These particulars may throw some light on an event which breaks in strangely on that paradise of contentment in which the colony is represented as reposing. In 1645, an insurrection was raised, when Calvert the governor, unable, it should seem, to make even a show of resistance, was obliged to flee into Virginia. Cleyborne, it appears, was the chief agent; and on his head historians have poured out all the vials of their wrath. The information is so singularly meagre, that no decided opinion can now be formed; and we are not inclined to maintain that resentment had no influence on his conduct. It seems certain, however, that the object was to obtain political rights which the proprietor denied; and Cleyborne having become devoted to the popular cause, might thus have ample ground for justifying his conduct to himself. We do not find his adversary, either before the parliament or the public, during the sway of the commonwealth, bringing forward any charge upon this ground; whence it may be concluded that nothing was done which the ruling party could consider culpable. In about a year and a half, the original rule was restored; though no detail is given of the means. An amnesty and other prudent measures restored tranquillity.†

* Chalmers, p. 213-219.

† Ibid. p. 217. Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 273, 274.

The burgesses, notwithstanding, continued to struggle for that division into two houses, by which only they could obtain any real legislative power. At last they attained their object, though at a time which took away almost all the grace of the boon. It was in the fatal year 1649, when the republican party, completely triumphant, had brought Charles to the block, and the proprietor was using all his efforts to court or at least to sooth its leaders. In 1650, an act was ratified, sanctioning this new constitution.* Yet the opposite party affirm that his sway continued as oppressive as ever, and draw a picture strangely contrasting with the magnificent panegyrics of modern historians. They assert that his power was more arbitrary than that of any Christian prince; and that the members of the council, appointed and displaced at will, were entirely subservient to him. Yet, it is added, that acts earnestly desired and passed by them and by the governor were negatived at home, while "affirmative propositions and commands were incessantly urged and prest;" that causes were decided by two judges without appeal; yet if the sentence displeased the proprietor, the execution was stopped, and themselves thrown into prison; that all offices, not excepting the meanest, were filled by mandate from England; and even that property was seized for his behoof by his sole writ. "It would be infinite," says the writer, "to rake in this dunghill." These are the statements of an imbittered enemy, and doubtless exaggerated; yet their conformity to the laws of human nature and to the history of the colony forbid us to believe that they were wholly unfounded.*

It is certain that Lord Baltimore began about this time not only to permit but earnestly to invite protestant settlers from different parts of America. One object at least was to fill up the population of the colony, which was probably insufficient at the low rents exacted to repay the expenses of settlement. It now derived small supplies from emigration, which, after the commencement of

* Chalmers, p. 219. Virginia and Maryland, p. 12.

the great civil contest, ceased to flow into the western settlements. The assembly about this time passed an act for peopling the colony, and this course also tended to conciliate the now triumphant puritans at home. The New Englanders, however, to whom this invitation was first addressed, "felt no temptation that way;" but the Virginian reformers, compelled by the persecutions of Berkeley and the assembly, came in large bodies, till, according to the assertion, though probably exaggerated, of opposite parties, the protestant population exceeded the catholic. They occupied the territory north of the Patuxent, and formed a new country named Severn or Anne Arundel, reaching nearly to the modern site of Baltimore.*. Having thus invited them, he probably intended they should have full liberty of worship; and in 1649, an act for religious liberty was passed, which seems to display an impartial spirit. One peculiarity is a fine of ten shillings for abusive expressions between the parties; such as idolater, popish priest, jesuit, and jesuited papist on the one side, and on the other, heretic, schismatic, roundhead, and similar epithets.† This attempt to stop the mouths of zealous religionists was an infringement perhaps of natural liberty, and not very likely to succeed. The protestants, too, assert, that all the subordinate officers, being zealous papists, imbittered, it may be, by the triumph in England of the party most hostile to them, continued the system of covert persecution. Unluckily, too, for the proprietor, these settlers brought with them the principles of political liberty, which usually accompanied their religious profession. They were prepared to own the proprietor as lord of the soil, and to pay him all his dues. But great was their surprise, when, after much expense in removal, and in cultivating their ground, which derived almost its whole value from their labour, an oath was presented to them, in default of signing which, they were to be ejected from their lands, and banished from

* Chalmers, p. 219-221. Babylon's Fall, p. 1.
† Virginia and Maryland, p. 32; Langford, p. 29.

the colony. On looking into it, they were astonished to find no mention either of their rights or duties as English subjects; but that they were to pledge their sole allegiance to Lord Baltimore and his successors, binding themselves "to the uttermost of their power to defend and maintain his right, title, interest, privileges, *royal* jurisdiction, prerogative, proprietary, and dominion."* This appeared "far too high for him, and strangely unsuitable to the present liberty which God had given to English subjects." It even seemed quite inconsistent with the allegiance due, and which many of them had actually sworn, to the government at home. They felt peculiarly reluctant to devote themselves so entirely to the support of rulers who, on their part, were bound to countenance and uphold antichrist. They drew up, however, a modified oath, not any where recorded; but it was one which Stone, the governor, who never showed any want of zeal for his master's interest, considered admissible, and agreed to receive. Nevertheless, when sent home, the proprietor indignantly returned it, ordering that the original one should be taken, and directing that those who within three months failed to comply, should immediately suffer the sentence of forfeiture and banishment.† Stone, consulting his lordship's benefit by seeking to moderate his violence, did not choose to proceed to this extremity, and merely refused land to new comers on any other terms.‡ The threat, however, was kept hanging over the heads of all, and placed the colony in a state of alarm and agitation, which ill prepared it for the crisis in which it was soon to be involved.

In the great contest between the king and the commons, it cannot be doubted that all the partialities of Lord

* The oaths are given in Parliamentary Report, Virginia and Maryland, p. 28-31; also by Langford, p. 24.

† Babylon's Fall, pp. 1, 2. Virginia and Maryland, pp. 33, 34.

‡ This is asserted by Langford, p. 25; and Bennet and Cleyborne afterwards merely allude to the "lands, plantations, and lives of many hundreds *liable* to be taken away." Virginia and Maryland, p. 27.

Baltimore were on the royal side. It is even said, that when Charles was at Oxford, he obtained a commission to arm vessels and men against the insurgents. He felt, however, much disinclined to become a martyr in that monarch's cause; and as soon as his downfal appeared inevitable, began loudly to proclaim his attachment to the republicans. Greene, his governor, having hastily proclaimed Charles II., was removed, and his place supplied by Stone, a protestant, who was stated to be "always zealously affected to the parliament."* His lordship boasted of the contrast of his government to that of Virginia, and the shelter afforded by him to the persecuted puritans of that colony. So fully did he impress these views on the public, that the king, from Breda, issued a commission, in which, branding him as "visibly adhering to the rebels, and admitting schismatics, sectaries, and other ill-affected persons into his plantation," he deposed him, and named Sir William Davenant his successor. The latter, having collected a colony of Frenchmen, set sail for America, but was taken by a parliamentary vessel; and being condemned to death, he was saved only by the intercession of Milton, who was attached to him on account of his poetical talents.† The commission, though it failed wholly as to its object, was industriously circulated by Lord Baltimore, and ostentatiously exhibited as a proof of his avowed attachment to the commonwealth; in which view, he added it as an appendix to his printed Case.‡

All these particulars were brought carefully forward at the critical period when, as formerly mentioned, a

* The adverse party assert that Greene's removal was merely on account of supporting a complaint of grievances sent from the Assembly (Virginia and Maryland, p. 11); but the different political and religious principles of the new governor, with the other circumstances, seem to leave no doubt that the object really was to conciliate the popular interest.

† Grahame, vol. i. p. 98. Mr Grahame's authorities state the destination as Virginia; but putting the circumstances together, there can seemingly be no doubt of its being Maryland.

‡ Case, pp. 2, 12, 17. Virginia and Maryland, p. 27.

commission was sent out to reduce Virginia under the new government. His lordship states (we presume with truth, notwithstanding the scepticism of his opponents), that after the name of Maryland had been inserted, the parliamentary leaders were, by his representations, induced to expunge it. But he adds, that "somehow or other" there was afterwards introduced "all the plantations within the bay of the Chesapeake." Langford seems to think the words had always been there, but that they escaped notice when the other expression was withdrawn.*

The commission consisted of five members, two being Americans; and as by accident only one from England (Captain Curtis) reached his destination, they became the majority. Those two were Bennet and Cleyborne, the deadliest foes of the house of Baltimore; and their influence was greatly increased, when the one was named governor of Virginia, and the other appointed his secretary.† In the clause above mentioned they found full warrant to include Maryland; and seeing no ground for its exemption, they treated with derision the professed zeal of the colony and its ruler in the cause of liberty. They accordingly repaired thither, and began by calling upon Stone to expunge the king's name from the writs, and substitute the title then assumed by the parliament, of "Keepers of the Liberties of England." The governor replied, that the first demand was impossible, the writs never having been issued in any name but that of the proprietor, without whose authority he did not feel justified in making any alteration. The commissioners regarded this explanation as very unsatisfactory; and receiving many complaints, particularly as to the required oath, and the ruin which impended over the protestant settlers for refusing it, they determined upon an entire change of government. The other did not directly oppose, but strongly remonstrated; and

* Case, p. 2. Langford, p. 7-9.
† Hammond, p. 9.

after a discussion of some months, a compromise was effected. He and one or two other leading men were replaced in power; but the subordinate officers, particularly the judges, were to continue as nominated by the commission.

Baltimore, considering himself highly aggrieved by these proceedings, presented a petition to the House of Commons, to which he had procured the signature of twenty protestant proprietors; the catholics being for the present kept in the background. He complained that two members of the commission, his avowed enemies, taking advantage of some ambiguous expressions, which were quite contrary to the intent of its framers, had subverted his government, without regard to his undoubted rights, and zealous attachment to the commonwealth. The house immediately appointed a committee of inquiry, who chose several of their number to ascertain the facts, determining to present them without any comment. The opposite party were also ready with evidence and documents; and the Virginians seized the occasion, both to contest the original title to Maryland, and to insist that it had been forfeited. The committee, on the 31st December 1652, delivered their report. Entering into minute historical details, they visit with evident disapprobation the proceedings against Cleyborne, and then advance with visible interest to the charges of favouring the royal cause. The prince had been proclaimed; and though the governor who did so was dismissed, this reason was not assigned in the deed of removal. An act had been passed and assented to, in which mention was made of "the late high and mighty prince Charles I.," which, besides the complimentary terms, was said to imply that there was a Charles II. From Baltimore's pamphlet, it appears that, besides pleading mere inadvertence, he urged that the late king's father bore commonly the title of James I. This, we suspect, was in distinction from that of VI. of Scotland; yet, after all, the imputation of treason was certainly a very circuitous one; nor can we think worse of Cecilius, because his real political

feelings partially transpired. Notice is next taken of the oaths exacted from the governor, council, and subjects; of the clauses relative to popery; and the total silence as to allegiance towards England, or dependence upon it. On these documents, too, is founded the charge, that Maryland was neither more nor less than a hereditary monarchy, the form proscribed and for ever abolished by the parliament. Lord Baltimore, amid all his new-born zeal for the republic, shows himself little inclined to make the slightest concession upon this point. He stands upon his patent, his efforts and expenditure on the plantation, and the high encouragement necessary for such costly undertakings. He urges that the jurisdiction was more properly what in England is called manorial; or, even allowing it to be a monarchy, though the parliament would not permit such a form to exist at home, they might, like the Roman senate, hold foreign kings in subjection. Such arguments were not very likely to prevail with Vane and Fleetwood; and, upon the whole, the house appears to have seen no ground to disturb the arrangement made by the commissioners.*

This appears in fact to be one of the happiest intervals in the troubled history of the colony. The protestants afterwards wrote to the commissioners, that "having been reduced (delivered) from that tyrannical power exercised by Lord Baltimore and his officers," they had enjoyed "peace and freedom;" while even in the imbittered pamphlets that immediately succeeded, there is no complaint of any oppression then sustained by the catholics. The proprietor, however, indignantly bore this limitation on his authority, and eagerly sought to regain his full prerogative. An opportunity seemed to occur when Cromwell, secure in the affections of the soldiery, dismissed the parliament, and centred the whole power of the state in his own person. His lordship now paid assiduous court to one not indifferent to the

* Case, p. 4-8. Parliamentary Report, in Virginia and Maryland, p. 24-32.

homage of men of rank, and eagerly solicited of him the desired boon. We suspect he obtained at least a promise that he should not be interfered with, though this is discredited by the opposite party, and the Protector did not withdraw any of the powers vested in the commissioners; but we will soon produce, on the part of this extraordinary person, such proofs of ignorance and carelessness in regard to these colonies, as to make it quite probable that he might issue very opposite mandates.* Certain it is, that in the beginning of 1654, the proprietor sent to Stone strict directions forthwith to overthrow every thing that had been set up by the commissioners; to displace every officer appointed by them; and to seize and try all, themselves not excepted, who should move in support of their system. The oath, in particular, was no longer to be trifled with, but all who should not take it within three months were to be rigorously ejected. The agent immediately proceeded to put those orders in execution, with, it is said, a violence and impetuosity which he had not formerly displayed. The protestants wrote to the commissioners a doleful report of the restoration of arbitrary government under popish officers, and of the ruin which now impended over them.†

The deputies, who lent no unwilling ear to these complaints, sent orders to pay no regard to the authorities thus unwarrantably set up. Yet they seem not to have been in haste to interfere personally. Bennet, it is alleged, had received a letter from Cromwell, urging him to preserve peace, and containing perhaps other equivocal expressions. They endeavoured by an amicable correspondence to induce Stone to desist. But when the three months elapsed without success, and matters were becoming always more urgent, they resolved no longer

* Mr Bancroft supposes the proprietor to have concluded, that on the parliament's breaking up, all its deeds were annulled. We are persuaded, on the contrary, that every arrangement not positively abrogated, was understood to remain in force. Nine months elapsed after the usurpation till the present step was taken.

† Petitions in Virginia and Maryland, pp. 36, 37.

to delay. So confident indeed were they of support in the colony, that, in June 1654, they set sail in an open boat with only two rowers, and landed at Patuxent. Learning that Stone was determined to resist, and even if possible to seize their persons, they published a declaration virtually deposing him, by ordering that the government should be administered solely in name of the protector. Finding themselves soon at the head of a strong body of armed protestants, they advanced upon the governor, who was using every effort to assemble an army of Romanists. They were mustered, however, with difficulty, and in small numbers, and, says Hammond, "they importunately advised him not to fight." With an inadequate body of men tendering such advice, and the dread of reinforcements from Virginia, he considered resistance quite hopeless. He declined any part in altering or modifying the government, but, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, simply resigned it into the hands of Bennet and Cleyborne; who placing it under ten local commissioners, of whom the chief were Fuller and Preston, departed for Virginia.*

The protestants, thus completely triumphant, did not use their victory with the moderation which indeed was rather to be desired than expected. Bennet and Cleyborne, in a platform of government, published 22d July 1654, deprived the Roman catholics of the elective franchise; and the next assembly, exclusively protestant, passed an act that none who professed the popish religion could be protected in the province by the laws of England formerly established, and yet unrepealed; and the freedom of worship was not extended "to popery or prelacy, or to such as under the profession of Christ practised licentiousness." While we must join in the general censure of this conduct, it ought not to be forgotten that in those days the toleration of popery scarcely existed, and would even have been considered criminal. Milton, an avowed and zealous advocate of religious freedom, did not extend

* Virginia and Maryland, pp. 16, 17, 41-45.

it to them. Again, as to the charge of ingratitude so bitterly urged, we must remember that it was shown towards persons who had meant to strip them of every thing they possessed. The measure, however, was a most unhappy one in a colony founded and still to so great an extent occupied by Romanists. We find, indeed, no mention of any actual expulsion, or even interruption of worship; but they were placed in a degraded condition, which they were not likely to brook. The arrangement was inconsistent with the peace of the settlers, and soon gave rise to the most violent conflict yet waged between Englishmen on that side of the Atlantic.

The catholics, notwithstanding the favour shown to their religion, had displayed towards the proprietary government an apathy with which Hammond vehemently reproaches them. They had seen it three times subverted, without lifting an arm in its defence; but now they were driven as it were by main force into its ranks. The predisposition thus created was called into action by the arrival, in February 1655, of a vessel from England, which was announced as bringing from Cromwell full authority to restore the rule of Lord Baltimore. Amid conflicting assertions, it appears difficult to decide whether this injunction was really received. The protestants admit that a passenger brought a recommendatory epistle addressed "Captain Stone, governor of Maryland," but could they, it was asked, be expected to change the whole system of administration for the back of a letter? With regard to any more direct sanction, they declare that they earnestly and repeatedly solicited to see it, but in vain; while the others maintain that it was tendered to them over and over, but that nothing could ever induce them to examine it. Supposing it to have existed, which we are not disinclined to believe, there might, amid such fierce jealousy, be on one side an unwillingness to part with, on the other to receive it. Stone, taunted by the proprietor with his former timidity, and warned that, without a greater display of energy, another would forthwith take his place, now summoned

the catholics, and all others attached to the Baltimore government, to rally round him. They obeyed with unwonted alacrity, and he soon saw himself at the head of a greater force than had ever before been mustered in Maryland. With the consciousness of strength seems to have grown an indifference to persuasive measures, and a disposition to carry all by main force. The first object was to possess the records then deposited at Patuxent. Hammond boasts, that proceeding thither in a boat with only three rowers, he ventured among these "sons of thunder," and carried off the deeds without opposition. The catholic force soon possessed themselves of the whole district, and advanced upon the main hold of the adverse party at Providence, in Anne Arundel.

The protestants appear to have been taken very much by surprise, and without any of those precautions which a prudent foresight would have dictated. The deepest alarm is said to have been felt at the advance of this overwhelming force, coming, as was reported, we trust falsely, with the determination to kill men, women, and children. Their letters, preserved by Heamans, do not breathe any thing of a violent or imperious spirit. The commissioners, in their first address to Stone, declared that if he would make known his authority, he should not be opposed or disturbed in the least degree; that they had no wish to retain a power to which they felt themselves unequal, and were ready to submit to any government which God might place over them. They received, it is said, no answer, but what tended to make them desperate. According to Strong, the adverse leaders laid their hand on their swords, intimating that these gave authority sufficient, and would carry all before them. On the return of the messengers, the people assembled, and as the panic still prevailed, they were induced to make a very humble proposal. It was agreed that Stone should resume the government, on condition of ruling them as English subjects, of granting an amnesty for former acts, and a permission that any one who desired it might leave the country without injury to his property. As soon as

this proposal was sent, they repented having gone so far; however, no result followed. The boat which conveyed the message met the expedition rapidly advancing, partly along the coast, partly in vessels by sea. The barge and crew were seized, and no notice was taken of the message; but two persons escaped and brought this intelligence.*

The protestants now formed a decisive resolution to conquer or die. As a large trader well armed was at that time lying in the Severn, Fuller delivered a summons to Heamans, the captain, and fastened another to the main-mast, calling upon him to defend the protector's government; a mandate which he was nothing loath to obey. His views, both political and religious, entirely accorded with theirs; and he describes himself much edified by "the pious duties and practices of those precious servants of God in those remote places." His crew also expressed an eager disposition "to make the protestant cause their own." Stone, anxious to detach him, sent a letter, stating that he had enclosed a petition with the protector's order upon it; but there was no such enclosure; and though the messenger declared he had seen the document, this assurance was not considered a sufficient ground to act upon.

On the evening of the 24th March, the alarm was given, and the catholic armament, with drums beating and colours flying, was seen entering the broad estuary of the Severn. The seamen eagerly asked permission to fire, but Heamans restrained them till he could hail the advancing foe, and endeavour to persuade them to desist. As they paid no regard to him, he gave the word, and when the balls began to play, they retreated, exclaiming, "round-headed rogues!" and ran into a creek, where they disembarked. Next morning, they were seen marching along the coast, 250 strong, while the protestants, only 107 in number, having chosen probably an advantageous position, determined to make their final stand. Heamans lent them a pair of colours, and though

* Hammond, p. 3. Babylon's Fall, p. 10. Heamans, pp. 3, 4, 13.

he did not leave his ship, afforded, doubtless, all the aid in his power. They profess, however, not to have attacked, but left still an opening for amicable adjustment; but the assailants having poured in a fire, which wounded several, the signal was given to close. The two parties rushed upon each other, with the cry on one side of "God is our strength;" on the other, "Hey for St Mary." The contest was brisk, but short. Victory soon decided so completely in favour of the protestants, that the whole opposite army, with the exception of five, were either killed or taken. Stone himself, with his principal officers, were among the captives. All the boats, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, who boast also of an extensive capture of beads, reliques, and other "trash in which they trusted." The conquerors are accused of a cruel intention to put to death the governor, with some of the leading men, who were saved by the humane interposition of the females; but the authors on their side make no mention of such a design. Heamans describes "the religious, humble, and holy rejoicing which followed," as the most interesting scene he had ever witnessed.*

The protestants were thus again triumphant; yet immediately there arose another alarm. About the same time that the proprietor despatched his last imperious mandate, Cromwell, who we suspect had sanctioned it, wrote to Bennet, strongly censuring him for having gone into Baltimore's plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing his government. He ordered him to forbear such interference, and leave the boundaries of the two colonies to be fixed by the decision of the authorities at home. Another mandate is quoted as having been sent to the governor and council, "not to meddle in the business that hath happened between the men of Severn and Lord Baltimore's officers; but to leave that affair to be settled by the "*Commissioners of the Parliament.*" It would be difficult to display grosser

* Heamans p. 4-7. Langford, pp. 9, 10.

ignorance on any subject than is here manifested. He did not know that the commissioners and the rulers of Virginia were the same persons, but supposed that they interposed in the latter capacity, to extend the jurisdiction of that settlement, and that the chief dispute respected the boundaries between it and Maryland. The Baltimore party, however, now published these documents, announcing to their antagonists, that they were rebels against one who would not suffer his power to be defied with impunity; and the colony remained some time in a state of extreme agitation. Pains, however, were now doubtless taken to explain to him the real state of the case. We suspect too that, amid the deep interest excited in England by the late contest, the public voice, especially among his own party, would declare itself perhaps with extreme force on the protestant side. Heamans, even while implicitly referring the question to his decision, intimates a trust, that he "hath provided better governors for the people of God, than profest enemies of the truth, and that hunt after the innocent." We find him, next September, writing an angry letter, not owning his own ignorance, but telling the commissioners, "that they had mistaken his meaning, as if he would have had a stop put to their proceedings for settling the civil government, whereas he only intended to prevent any violence to be offered to Virginia, with regard to bounds; they being now under consideration." We cannot forbear observing, that had not this extraordinary person displayed his great talents on other occasions, we should not have discovered them in his conduct towards these colonies.*

The protestant governors were thus relieved from present appreliension, but they had placed the colony in a false position, under which tranquillity could not be permanent. At this crisis a new character appeared on the scene. Josiah Fendall, who had actively supported Stone, now rallied round him the catholic and proprietary

* Hammond, p. 14. Chalmers, p. 224.

interests. He thereby raised an insurrection, the events of which do not seem to have been remarkable, and are nowhere given in detail; but it was not put down without difficulty. Lord Baltimore was so much pleased with his exertions, that he sent to him a commission as governor; and thus armed, after some farther efforts, he obtained possession of the catholic district of St Mary, while the protestants still ruled in their own territory. After some time he had the address to bring about, on the 24th March 1658, an arrangement by which he and his master were acknowledged throughout the whole colony. Freedom of worship, equal privileges, relief from the obnoxious oath, and permission to retain arms, appear to have been the basis of this agreement, by which the jarring elements that had distracted the plantation were for some time happily composed. But the political wheel now rapidly revolving soon brought round another revolution. In March 1660, news arrived of the restoration of Charles II., when the assembly, recollecting probably the indignation of that prince against Lord Baltimore, his deposition, and the appointment of another governor, imagined that an opportunity was afforded for emancipating themselves altogether from his rule, and becoming free as a royal colony. They met and declared, that no power should be recognised in Maryland except their own and the king's. The council, with the authority by which they had been nominated, were entirely set aside; though the place of governor, was still tendered to Fendall, on condition of his holding it in name of the assembly. Ambitious of retaining his station, and reckoning probably that he owed it rather to his own energy and popularity, than to the proprietor's favour, he accepted the offer.

These steps were premature and inconsiderate. Baltimore, who was a skilful courtier, soon persuaded Charles of what was doubtless the truth, that all his real partialities had been for the royal cause, and his republican profession made merely under the urgency of political circumstances. He therefore soon obtained the full restor-

ation of his chartered privileges; and Philip Calvert, his brother, was sent out to assume the government. No attempt was made to resist him. All the services of Fendall were now cancelled; he was brought to trial and found guilty of high treason, but, instead of capital punishment, was merely fined, and declared incapable of ever holding office. Considering his influence with the people, it might perhaps have been wiser to treat leniently an offence committed under peculiar circumstances, than thus provoke the enmity of one who could render it formidable.*

Thus began the second period of Lord Baltimore's government, respecting which we have only scattered and imperfect notices, whose tenor, as before, is very contradictory. According to one party, his rule was beyond example mild, tolerant, and beneficent, such as ought to have rendered Maryland an earthly paradise. On the other side, fresh charges are made of domineering tyranny and covert persecution. Nor is it denied that the people showed little sense of their alleged happiness; that much dissatisfaction existed; and that repeated attempts were made to shake off the yoke. The discontents are indicated by the severe laws against those who divulged false news or stirred up opposition to the governor, who were to be punished with whipping, boring the tongue, imprisonment, exile, and even death. Lord Effingham, though a high partisan of authority, describes Maryland as threatening to fall to pieces, and imputes the blame to the proprietor. Heavy complaints were laid before the English government of the slender provision for protestant worship, as well as of the partiality shown to catholics in the distribution of offices; but the notices on the subject are so slight and partial, that it is difficult to form any positive judgment. The quakers, so severely persecuted every where else, had gone thither in considerable numbers; but though not molested as to their worship, little indulgence was shown to their scruples in respect to military and other public services.

* We have depended chiefly for this train of events on Bancroft, vol. i. p. 283-285. Chalmers, p. 225.

A considerable emigration, however, continued to take place, particularly of the labouring class, who, on coming under indentures for a term of years, had the expenses of their voyage defrayed. Reports it appears were spread at home, that they were sold in the market as slaves, and afterwards yoked in the plough; for which Alsop, who visited the colony about 1666, declares that there was not a shadow of foundation; that their servitude was extremely mild; and that they had at the close a fair prospect of independence and plenty.* The more opulent classes, as in Virginia, found their incomes depressed by the low value of tobacco; but they rendered the evil less oppressive by bearing it more patiently, and making no foolish attempts to relieve it by renouncing or suspending the culture. The commercial monopoly, and the duties on their produce, also pressed hard on them; and upon these points the proprietor and the king were involved in a warm controversy.

The rebellion of Bacon, in Virginia, with the popish plot and other disturbances in England, encouraged the discontented party to aim at another change. The movement was in the protestant interest; and Fendall, being its leader, may be suspected as not unwilling to seek power under any banners. Very few details are given; but it appears that he and his accomplice Coode were suddenly apprehended. He was fined 40,000 pounds of tobacco, imprisoned for non-payment, and banished from the colony.† Lord Baltimore might have expected favour under the catholic rule of James II.; but that monarch, preferring arbitrary power to every other consideration, and having determined to reduce the charters of all the colonies, ordered proceedings to be commenced against that of Maryland, which were only arrested by his expulsion from the throne. This event, however, did not ultimately avail the proprietor. After the Revolution, his officers were accused of delaying to proclaim

* Alsop, Character of the Province of Maryland, 1666, p. 34-37.
† Chalmers, p. 237. Letter from Philip Calvert to Col. H. Meefe, 29th December 1681.

William and Mary; and the protestants, inspired with new courage, rose in arms, overturned his government with the usual facility, and established a provisional one. In their defence they published a statement urging the often-repeated charges of civil tyranny and covert persecution. His lordship, it is alleged, not content with the entire control of the council, had required each district to elect four burgesses, from whom he was to select two; seizures of horses and wagons were made in his name, even during peace; protestants enjoyed no equal distribution of justice, but were often imprisoned for a long time without trial; and the discontents, excited by these measures, were punished with the most extreme rigour. We have unluckily no counter-statement. Chalmers intimates that he had seen some, but does not quote them, and treats the charges, like all others against the Baltimore family, with indignant contempt.*

William, who doubtless had an interest in favour of the insurgents, gave his entire sanction to their proceedings, and took the government into his own hands. After a short tenure by Andros, it was directed during six years by Nicholson, who, on the whole, gave satisfaction. The protestants considered their wrongs as redressed, nor do we hear of any complaints from the opposite party. Under the successive administrations of Blackeston, Seymour, Corbet, and Hunt, the province continued tranquil and contented. In 1716, the inheritance having fallen to Charles, lord Baltimore, who professed the protestant religion, George I. was induced to restore his patent, which continued till the Revolution in the hands of the family. It was first ruled by B. Leonard Calvert, a relation of the proprietor, who was succeeded in 1732 by Samuel Ogle. The colony continuing to flourish, received a large accession of presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who, after settling in Pennsylvania, sold their possessions and removed to this more favourable climate.

* Declaration of the Reasons and Motives for appearing in Arms in Maryland, 1689, p. 3-5. Chalmers, pp. 383, 384.

CHAPTER VI.

New England.

Company for Colonizing the Northern Coast—Expeditions under Chalons—Popham — Smith — His Captivity — Darmer and Rocraft—New Patent—Successful Fishery—The Brownists —They land at Cape Cod—Various Adventures—Settlement at New Plymouth—Stations in New Hampshire and Maine —Persecution of the Puritans—A great Number sail for America—Foundation of Salem and Boston—Constitution and Laws of Massachusetts—Opposition at Home—Suspended by the civil Wars—Religious Dissensions—Roger Williams—He founds Rhode Island—The Antinomians—Mrs Hutchinson—Her Banishment—Union of the New England Colonies—Disturbances raised by Gorton—The Anabaptists —The Quakers—Severe Proceedings against this Body— Effects of the Restoration—Commissioners sent out—Resistance by the Colonists—Their Constitution subverted—Tyrannical Proceedings—Changes after the Revolution—Indian Wars—The Pequods—General Confederacy — Overcome — Hostilities in New Hampshire and Maine—Indian Conversions—Delusion respecting Witchcraft—Violent Proceedings —Their Termination—Successive Governors—Bellamont— Dudley— Shute —Burnet — Belcher — Shirley — Pownall— Bernard—Progress of Connecticut — Of Rhode Island—Of New Hampshire and Maine.

We have already observed that in the grand scheme concerted in 1606 for colonizing Virginia, one company had been authorized to form establishments on the southern, another on the northern part of the extensive coast which bears that name. The first was undertaken by certain merchants in London, the other by capitalists in the western ports. The former, whose for-

tune we have already traced, undertook their task with more ample means, carried it on with greater perseverance, and, though amid many disasters, rose sooner into importance. The latter, however, was not destitute of powerful supporters, among whom were Sir John Popham, at that time chief-justice of England, and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, governor of Plymouth. In August 1606, they had fitted out a vessel of fifty-five tons, with a crew of twenty-nine Englishmen and two savages. Captain Chalons, the commander, took the circuitous route of the West Indies, and having been involved, near the coast of Hispaniola, in thick fogs and tempestuous weather, found himself surrounded by eight vessels manned by Spaniards. They rushed on board with drawn swords, and made prisoners of the crew, who were distributed among the different ships and conveyed to Europe. The captain and pilot with some others were brought to Seville, thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost indignity. Robert Cooke, one of their number, having died, his body was dragged naked through the prison, amid cries of "behold the Lutheran;" and Humfries, the boatswain, was assassinated. Through the humane intercession, however, of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, they obtained a mitigation of their sufferings, and, by following the advice of a respectable ecclesiastic, had even the satisfaction of getting the murderer hanged. At length they escaped to England.*

Another party, sent out with supplies to Chalons, were much dismayed upon not finding any trace of him or his companions. They were pleased, however, with the aspect of the country, and brought home such a favourable report as incited the adventurers to fresh efforts. In 1607, they sent two ships with 100 men, conducted by Captain Popham, a son of the chief-justice, and a brother of Sir John Gilbert. The crews, having landed near the mouth of the Kennebec, built a fort named St George; but they found the winter intensely cold; a quantity of their

* Purchas, part iv. p. 1832-1836.

stores was consumed by fire; and Popham, their principal leader, died. Next season, a vessel arrived with fresh supplies, but conveying tidings of the death of the chief-justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, which induced their president, who was his heir, to come to England and take possession of the estate. All these inauspicious circumstances so discouraged the settlers, that, like some of the more southern colonists, they determined in a body to return home, thus rendering all the exertions of the company completely abortive.*

This unwelcome arrival proved it is said "a wonderful discouragement" to such undertakings, which there was long "no more speech" of renewing. Sir Francis Popham, however, who succeeded as governor, sent out vessels on his own account to fish and carry on the fur-trade. His adventure, being found profitable, was followed by others; and at least one crew wintered on the coast. A powerful impulse was given to colonization, when Smith, unable now to find employment in Virginia, directed all the powers of his intelligent mind into this new sphere. In 1614, he prevailed upon four merchants of London to furnish him with two traders, and also fifteen men to form a settlement. No mention is made of any connexion with the Plymouth company, who, indeed, when they effected so little themselves, could not with a good grace have opposed the attempt. The whale-fishery, apparently the leading object, failed; whence the plan of settlement seems to have been relinquished. By boat-fishing, however, and by collecting martin, beaver, and otter skins, a value of £1500 was realized, which was considered a very favourable return. While the others, too, were thus employed, Smith contrived to make a survey of the coast, from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and gave to the country the memorable name of New England, which it has ever since retained. This voyage, however, was followed by a most distressing event. Thomas Hunt, left in charge of one of

* A briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England. By the President and Councell. London, 1622.

the ships, inveigled on board thirty of the natives, whom he carried to Malaga, and sold as slaves. The consequence was that Captain Hobson, who arrived a short time after, without any knowledge of the crime, was killed, with several of his crew; and much pains were necessary to assuage the resentment thus kindled.

Meantime, the arrival of Smith in this country produced so favourable an impression, that the Virginia and Plymouth companies vied with each other in soliciting his services. The former offered four ships, which he declined in consequence of a previous engagement to their western rivals; a circumstance he afterwards found reason to repent, since, nothing being in readiness, he was involved in a labyrinth of trouble before he could procure two vessels, with only fifteen settlers. Upon going to sea, a violent storm, which broke his masts, obliged him to return. Being provided with a smaller vessel, he again set sail, but when in the vicinity of the Azores, he was captured by French pirates, who carried him to Rochelle, whence he contrived to escape. A great part of his property, however, was lost in this voyage.*

The company did not altogether discontinue their exertions; and Captain Darmer, who sailed with Smith in 1615, reached the coast and made a good fishery. During the succeeding years, he and Rocraft displayed very considerable activity. Darmer made a voyage along the coast to Virginia, proving for the first time its continuity with New England; and meeting some Dutchmen, who had opened a trade on the Hudson, he gave on the whole a highly favourable account of the country. An attempt was made to conciliate the natives by means of Squanto, called sometimes Tisquantum, one of Hunt's victims, who had found his way to Newfoundland, whence he was sent home by Mason, the governor. Much distress was, however, experienced, both from their enmity and from the violence and insubordination of the English sailors. Rocraft, after suppressing a violent mutiny,

* Smith ap. Pinkerton, vol. xiii. p. 225-229. Briefe Relation, &c.

was killed in a conflict with one of his own people; while Darmer, severely wounded by a band of savages, was constrained to retire into Virginia, where he soon afterwards died. These disasters checked greatly the progress of the few scattered settlements.* Smith, meantime, after his return, strained every nerve to inspire his countrymen with colonizing zeal. He went from city to city, applied to various individuals who had shown an interest in the subject, and circulated at great expense 7000 copies of books and maps. He complains, that he might as well have attempted to "cut rocks with oyster-shells." Besides this prevailing apathy, he was objected to as an unfortunate man; for all his undertakings had failed, and a contrast was drawn between the poor state of Virginia under him, and its present prosperous condition, when the planters were living in ease and luxury on the juice of tobacco. Though he could show that this arose from causes which he could not control, he found it difficult to shake the influence of fortune over men's minds.† At length the Plymouth company began to make a movement; but it was altogether in a false direction. Their patent had hitherto been so limited, that they had not been able to prevent the rivalry of the London merchants, and even of the Virginia association. They conceived, that if they could obtain the same exclusive privileges which had been lavished on the latter, they might be equally prosperous. By continued solicitation during two years, and by receiving into their number some influential individuals, they gained from James I., on the 3d November 1620, a most ample charter for all the country between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, comprising about a million of square miles, and including New York and New England, with all the northern states of the Union. Within these vast limits they obtained the exclusive right not only of settlement but of trade and fishery. No stipulation

* Briefe Relation, &c.
† Smith's New England's Trials, 2d edition, 1622.

indeed was even made for political privileges to the settlers; the whole region was to be under the absolute sway of the Duke of Lennox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, and other individuals, amounting in all to forty-two.*

These exorbitant privileges were of very little avail to those by whom they had been so unfairly procured. They struck at the interests of a large body of merchants, who having embarked in the fishery, were supported by the House of Commons, then fast rising into importance. Sir Edwin Sandys, a popular leader, brought in a bill to allow free fishing and the cutting of timber on all this coast, which, notwithstanding the opposition of Sir George Calvert and other members, was carried; and though James prevented it from passing into a law, this adverse vote rendered it very difficult to enforce such exorbitant claims.† The fishing, indeed, seems to have increased in the face of the prohibition. The ships destined for it, which in 1622 amounted only to thirty-five, rose next year to forty-five. In these adventures the produce was divided into three equal parts, between the owner, the victualler, the masters and seamen. These last received usually from £17 to £20 for the trip, being more than they could elsewhere earn of wages in twenty months.‡ Almost the only use the company could make of their charter, was to assign large grants of land, which, though they turned to little account at the time, were afterwards eagerly contested. The deeds were drawn so loosely, sometimes making over the same spot to different persons, that disputes arose, sufficient, it is said, to have afforded employment to a little colony of lawyers. In their absence, other processes, suited to a rude society, were resorted to, the nature of which was indicated by the very names of Bloody Point, Black and Blue Point, applied to different parts of the coast.

* Chalmers, p. 81. Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 292, 293.
† Chalmers, pp. 83, 84.
‡ Smith's New England's Trials, 1620. Advertisements, 1631, p. 19.

' All the efforts both of government and of powerful companies to people this district had thus proved nearly abortive, when, from an unexpected quarter, a tide of population poured into it, which rendered New England the most prosperous of all the colonies on the American continent.

The Reformation, though it doubtless involved an extensive exercise of private judgment, was not accompanied by any express recognition of that right, or of any general principle of toleration. These, which as Mr Bancroft observes were its tardy fruits, were long wanting in England, where the change was introduced, not by the people, though conformable to their wishes, but by the most arbitrary of their monarchs, consulting chiefly his own passion and caprice. Substituting himself for the head of the Catholic church, Henry VIII. exacted the same implicit submission. Elizabeth trode in his steps, equally despotic, and attached, if not to popery, as has sometimes been suspected, at least to a pompous ritual and powerful hierarchy. But the nation in general, considering the Romish religion as contrary to Scripture, and shocked by the bloody persecutions of Mary, and other sovereigns on the Continent, were disposed to go into the opposite extreme. From Geneva they imbibed the Calvinistic doctrine and discipline, with the strict manners usually combined with them. The queen, whose views were irreconcilably opposed to these innovations, claimed the right of putting them down by main force. The most severe laws were enacted under the sanction of Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate sincerely but bigotedly attached to the English church. The wisdom of Cecil viewed with much dissatisfaction the discontents thus engendered, and, on reading twenty-four queries drawn up by the primate, told him, " he thought the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys." He was seconded by the lords of the council, and the queen was not insensible to his remonstrances; but whenever she showed a disposition to relent, Whitgift

threw himself on his knees, and prevailed upon her not to sacrifice her own power and the unity of the church. The high court of commission was established; several obstinate nonconformists were fined or imprisoned, and a few suffered death.

But under all these persecutions, the party continually increased, and even assumed a bolder character. The puritans, while they sought to reform the church, had no wish to withdraw from her bosom; but there sprung up a new sect named Brownists, who, denying the authority of her doctrine and discipline, sought for the first time to found an independent communion. Upon them all the vials of persecution were poured forth. Brown himself could boast that he had been shut up in thirty-two prisons, and several of his followers were put to death; but his own firmness at length failed, and he accepted a living in that church which he had so strenuously opposed. Although much condemned by his more zealous adherents, his desertion broke for some time the union of the party. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, there was formed in a northern county a congregation of separatists, under two respectable clergymen, Robinson and Brewster. During a certain interval they escaped notice; but James, who soon began to follow his predecessor's steps, took such measures as convinced them that it would be vain to attempt the exercise of their profession at home. In looking for an asylum, they fixed upon Holland, the first country where toleration was publicly sanctioned by law; and thither they made their escape amid much difficulty and hardship, their families being for some time detained behind them. Having reached that foreign land, they found the protection denied at home, and remained eleven years unmolested, and even respected. But they never became fully naturalized; their original occupation of agriculture was more congenial to their taste than the mechanical arts, by which alone they could earn a subsistence among the Dutch. They turned their eyes, therefore, to a transatlantic region, where they would not merely enjoy to-

leration, but might form a society founded on their favourite plan of church-government.

Animated by these views, the exiles applied to the Virginia company, then under the management of Sandys, Southampton, and other liberal members, who zealously espousing their cause, obtained, though not without difficulty, from King James a promise to wink at their heresy, provided they remained otherwise tranquil. Smith, deeply interested in this transaction, tendered and even pressed his services; which would doubtless have been extremely valuable. His religious views, however, were materially different, and instead of the subordination which he required, he found in them a rooted determination "to be lords and kings of themselves." It was necessary, therefore, that they should "make trial of their own follies;" for which, he mentions with a mixture of regret and triumph, that "they payed soundly, and were beaten with their own rod." They also wanted capital adequate to the founding of a plantation. Several London merchants agreed to advance the necessary sums, to be repaid out of the proceeds of their industry; but the terms were very high, and till the liquidation of the debt the produce of their labour was to be thrown into a common stock for the benefit of the creditors; hence their exertions were not stimulated by the salutary impulse of personal interest.*

With the means thus procured, the emigrants purchased one vessel of 60, and hired another of 180 tons; the former of which sailed to Delfthaven to take on board the brethren. The two joined at Southampton, and thence proceeded on their great western voyage; but before they reached the Land's End, the master of the smaller one, declaring her to be too leaky to cross the Atlantic, put back to Dartmouth for repairs. After another trial, the captain again pronounced her unfit for the voyage, and made sail for Plymouth. These disasters and alarms, though involving the loss of much pre-

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 330. Smith's Advertisements, 17, &c.

cious time, "winnowed their number of the cowardly and the lukewarm;" and they finally set sail in one vessel on the 6th September 1620, being in all one hundred and two persons, with the firm determination of braving every hardship. They had a tempestuous voyage, and though their destination was the mouth of the Hudson, they arrived on the 9th November in view of a great promontory, which proved to be Cape Cod. The captain, it has been alleged, had received a bribe from the Dutch to avoid a place where they projected a settlement. Of this, however, the adventurers being ignorant, were comforted by the view of a goodly land wooded to the water's edge. Whales so abounded, that had the crew possessed means and instruments, which, to their great regret, were wanting, they might have procured £4000 worth of oil. They sailed on toward their destination, but being driven back by contrary winds, determined to go ashore. Previously, however, they sought to obviate the danger of discord by a mutual agreement, in the name of God, to combine into a body politic; framing and duly observing laws for the general good.

They landed on the 11th, but being informed that more commodious spots might be found to the northwest, in the interior of the great Bay of Massachusetts, they determined that a select party should proceed in the shallop in search of them. The boat, however, was in such disrepair that it could not sail till the end of two or three weeks: sixteen of them, therefore, resolved to make an excursion into the interior. They met no natives, but found on a hill, half-buried in the ground, several baskets filled with ears of corn, part of which they carried away, meaning to satisfy the owners on the first opportunity, which unluckily never occurred. They saw many geese and ducks, but were unable to reach them; and being exposed to severe cold, hastily returned. Soon after they started for the same spot, named Cornhill, in the neighbourhood of which they collected ten bushels of grain, esteemed a providential supply. They lighted upon a village without inhabitants; but the

houses were neatly constructed of young saplings bent at top, as in an arbour, and covered without and within with fine mats. Eagles' claws, deer's feet, and harts' horns, were stuck into them as charms and ornaments. They then regained their boat and sailed round to the ship. Some of their number urged that they should remain at least during the winter in this creek, where corn and fish could be procured, while many were disabled by sickness for further removal. The majority, however, observed that water was scarce, and the anchorage for ships too distant; that they had every chance of finding a better situation, and to fix here and then remove would be doubling their labour. On the 6th December, therefore, the shallop being at length ready, a chosen party set sail. After proceeding six or seven leagues, they reached a bay forming a good harbour, but without a stream falling into it. Seeing some Indian wigwams, they followed, but could not reach the people, and found only a large burying-place. They returned to sleep at the landing-place, but at midnight were wakened by "a great and hideous cry," which they flattered themselves proceeded only from wolves or foxes. Next morning, just after prayers, the sound was heard with redoubled violence, and was most dreadful. A straggler rushed in, crying, "they are men,—Indians." Though the party ran to their arms, before they could be mustered, the arrows were flying thick among them. A brisk fire checked the assailants; but the chief, shooting from a tree, stood three discharges, till at the fourth he screamed out and ran, followed by his men. They were reckoned at thirty or forty, and numerous arrows were picked up; but providentially not one Englishman was hurt.

They sailed fifteen leagues farther, and on the 9th reached a harbour that had been strongly recommended. The weather was dark and stormy, and the entrance encumbered with rocks; yet they fortunately run in on a fine sandy beach. This being Saturday, they did not land till Monday the 11th, when they were highly pleased, finding a commodious harbour, a land well wooded,

vines, cherries, and berries, lately planted, and a hill cleared for corn. There was no navigable stream, but several brooks of fresh water fell into the sea. They advanced seven or eight miles into the country without seeing any Indians.

They now finally fixed upon this spot, to which, on the 19th, the vessel was brought round; and they named it New Plymouth, to commemorate hospitalities received at home. The erection of houses, however, was a hard task, amid severe weather, short days, and very frequent storms. By distributing the unmarried among the several families, they reduced the buildings wanted to nineteen, and by the 10th January had completed one, twenty feet square, for public meetings. The exposure, however, and wading through the water in such inclement weather, brought on severe illnesses, to which Carver, a governor highly esteemed, and many others, fell victims. But on the 3d March a south wind sprung up; the weather became mild; the birds sung in the woods most pleasantly; the invalids quickly recovered; and many of them lived to a good old age.*

In the autumn of 1621, the merchants sent out another vessel with thirty-five settlers; but misled by "prodigal reports of plenty" sent home by certain colonists, they supplied no provisions; nay, the crew required to be provided with a portion for their return voyage. The consequence was, that in the course of the winter the colonists were reduced to a half allowance of corn daily, then to five kernels a-piece; lastly, to entire want. Equally destitute of live-stock, they depended wholly on wild animals. Till May 1622, fowls abounded; but there remained then merely fish, which they had not nets to catch; and it was only by feeding on the shell species, collected among the rocks, that they were preserved from absolute starvation.

* Relation or Journal of the beginning of the English Plantation settled at New Plymouth, in New England. By R. G. (Richard Gardiner? See Neal, vol. i. p. 89), edited by G. Mourt. Bellamie, 1622. This narrative is abridged in Purchas, part iv. p. 1842. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 333-339. Neal, vol. i. p. 87-94.

The emigrants had seen the natives only in the short hostile encounter, but afterwards learned that a severe pestilence had thinned their numbers. The crime of Hunt also had filled the country with horror and dread of the strangers. To their surprise, on the 16th March 1621, a savage almost naked, in the most confident manner, walked through the village, and addressed those he met in broken English. They crowded round him, and on their eager inquiry, learned that his name was Samoset; that he belonged to the Wampanoags, a somewhat distant tribe; and that their immediate neighbours were the people of Massassoit and the Nausites, the latter of whom had been the assailants in the late conflict. They treated him liberally with strong waters and food, presented him with a greatcoat, knife, and ornaments, and begged him to return with some of his countrymen. After a brief absence, he reappeared with "five proper men," presenting the usual grotesque attire and ferocious aspect. They all heartily danced and sung. A few days later he brought Squanto, whose restoration to his native country, as we have already narrated, had rendered him extremely friendly to our name. Being ready to act as interpreter and mediator, he opened a communication with Massassoit; and on the 22d March, that great sagamore, with Quadequina his brother, and sixty men, was announced as in the vicinity. Difficulties were felt as to the meeting from want of mutual confidence; however, Squanto having brought an invitation to parley, Edward Winslow went with presents, and was kindly received. The governor, then, after obtaining some Indians as hostages, marched out at the head of six musketeers, kissed hands with the great chief, and presented a bottle of strong waters, of which he drank somewhat too copiously. A treaty was concluded, both of abstinence from mutual injury, and protection against others; and it was long faithfully observed.

Two of the settlers now accepted an invitation to visit his residence. After a laborious journey of fifteen miles

through trackless woods, they were received with great courtesy, but found a total deficiency of victuals, of which it seems the king's absence had prevented any supply. At night they were honoured by sharing the royal couch, which consisted of a large board, covered with a thin mat. At the other end lay his majesty and the queen; and they had soon the additional company of two chiefs, who, with a large colony of fleas and other insects, and the uncouth songs with which their bedfellows lulled themselves to rest, rendered their slumbers very brief. Next day, two large bream were spread on the table; but "forty expected a share." Though strongly urged, they declined to partake any longer of these hospitalities.

It was discovered, however, that Squanto was completely abusing their confidence; telling his countrymen that but for him the English would kill the Indians; and that they kept the plague locked up in their storehouse, which only his intercession prevented from being let loose. On this being known, the utmost pains were taken, and successfully, to undeceive the people. In February 1622, the settlers had completely enclosed their town, forming four bulwarks and three gates. They were some time after alarmed by hearing that Massassoit, now at the point of death, was likely to be succeeded by his son Coubatant, whose disposition was far from friendly. Edward Winslow hastened to the spot, and found the magicians busy at their incantations, and six or eight women chafing him amidst hideous yells. The chief, already blind, cried out: "Oh, Winsnow, I shall never see thee again!" That gentleman, however, by suitable medicines, gave present relief, and in a few days effected a cure. Even the heir-apparent being promised similar aid in case of need, became greatly reconciled to them.*

* Relation by R. G. pp. 37, 38; 45, 46. Good Newes from New England. Written by E. W. (Edward Winslow, as appears by p. 28), who hath borne a part in the troubles, and there lived since their first arrival. London, Bladon and Bellamie, 1624, pp. 4-13; 28-33. These, so far as we know, are the only contemporary narratives by eye-witnesses of this early settlement.

Meantime, Weston, one of the London adventurers, had sent out a settlement consisting of sixty individuals to a place which they named Weymouth; but they behaved so ill to the Indians, that the latter entered into a general confederacy to cut off all the English. This was revealed by Massassoit to his friends at Plymouth, who succeeded in saving both themselves and their rivals, though the latter were obliged to relinquish their establishment, some returning home, and others joining the first colony.

This last made such progress that, though reduced in the spring of 1621 to fifty or sixty persons, in 1624 it amounted to a hundred and eighty. They were, as Winslow observes, "by God's providence safely seated, housed, and fortified." They had escaped those tyrannical governors, and "bestial yea diabolical" settlers, who had ruined so many colonies, though he admits that it was vain as yet to hope for profit. The merchants, however, complained most loudly, that they had laid out a large capital without receiving or having any prospect of the slightest return. After much discussion, it was determined that the colonists should now supply themselves with every thing, and for past services should, during nine years, pay £200 annually. Eight adventurers, on receiving a monopoly of the trade for six years, undertook to meet this engagement; so that the settlers were now established in the full property of their lands. In six years more their number had risen to three hundred.*

The Plymouth Company meantime continued their abortive efforts to derive some benefit from their vast domains; being particularly solicitous to stop the active trade and fishery carried on in defiance of them. Francis West was appointed admiral, and Robert Gorges lieutenant-general of New England, with strict injunctions to restrain interlopers; but in an ocean and continent almost equally wide and waste, they could effect

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 344-346. Winslow, Good Newes, p. 8-10.

little. The most important grant was to Robert, son of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who, obtaining a large portion of what is now called New Hampshire, employed Captain Mason, a person of great activity, to colonize it; and hence were built Dover and Portsmouth on the Piscataqua. These, however, made only a slow progress; nor was it till the death of their founders, that, being left nearly to themselves, they drew gradual accessions both from home and the adjoining colony. The crews also, who sought timber and fish on the coast of Maine, began to form fixed stations on the Penobscot and Kennebec. Levett, who visited America in 1623, strongly recommends this course, asserting that a settlement on shore might take twice the quantity of fish that a ship can do at sea, and have still seven months for other employment. He gives a warning, at that time too much neglected, that they must carry out eighteen months' provisions, and work hard for a fresh supply.*

The emigration, however, which was to render New England a flourishing colony, was again derived from the suspicion and dread which always attend religious persecution. It seems to have abated towards the end of James's reign, Abbot, the primate, being a man of mild temper, and averse to violent measures. In 1625, Charles I. succeeded, a young prince of virtuous dispositions, but of an obstinate and despotic temper, attached with a conscientious but blind zeal to the English church, and probably imbibing from his queen Henrietta some favour for popish ceremonies. He threw himself into the arms of Laud, bishop of London, a zealot in the same cause, and they entered together on a career oppressive to the nation, and ultimately fatal to themselves. The body of the people and clergy having become more and more Calvinistic, that creed had obtained among both a great majority. It was accompanied with a strictness, and even preciseness as to morals and conduct, which procured them the name of puritans; also

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 353-364. A Voyage into New England. By Charles Levett. Lond. 1628. p. 32-37.

with a peculiar aversion to every thing which had the least aspect of popery. Laud proceeded with the utmost severity not only against the new doctrine, but against any particular display of it, such as preaching on week-days, enforcing a rigid observance of the Sabbath, rebuking for drunkenness or other open sin. These steps were sufficient, according to circumstances, to produce censure, suspension, and deprivation. Nor was he content with the church as he had found it, but introduced new ceremonies and vestments, closely approximating to the Romish standard. These mandates, though the most odious, were also the most strongly urged, and their omission the most rigidly punished. All the popular ministers in the kingdom were thus either silenced or under immediate peril of this sentence; and hence a great part of the nation was deprived of any ministration which they considered profitable or edifying. Yet loyalty was still powerful, and they were not ripe for that terrible resistance, to which they were afterwards impelled. Their only refuge seemed to be in some distant region, whither the power of Laud could not reach, and where they might enjoy a form of worship which they esteemed pure and scriptural.

In 1625, Roger Conant, with some mercantile aid, but chiefly inspired by religious zeal, had established a body of settlers near Cape Anne; their sufferings, however, were so severe, that they determined to return to England. White, however, an eminent minister of Dorchester, entreated him to remain, promising that he should receive a patent, friends, goods, provisions, and every thing he could desire. This zealous clergyman held communication with many persons in his own neighbourhood, in London, and other quarters, particularly Lincolnshire; who, with zeal for religious purity, united energy of character, and in many cases considerable property. They found no difficulty in purchasing from the Plymouth Company an extensive tract, including all the coast between the rivers Charles and Merrimac, and across to the Pacific Ocean. They even

obtained, though not without cost and trouble, a charter from Charles, under the title of "The Company of the Massachusetts Bay." On the delicate topic of religion, the governor was empowered, but not required, to administer the oath of supremacy; and there was no other mention of the subject. Some eminent historians, and even Mr Bancroft, have therefore thought that the colonists went out without any security whatever on a matter deemed by them so supremely important. To us it appears evident that, under all the circumstances, this silence implied a full assurance of their not being disturbed. In fact, they took with them a silenced minister, and on their arrival immediately began to exercise uncontrolled liberty, without drawing upon themselves any penal proceedings. We have seen, on every occasion, the vast sacrifices which princes were willing to make, in order to people their distant possessions; and the backwardness hitherto visible as to New England rendered the necessity of encouragement more urgent. It was probably also imagined, that a few of the most discontented spirits being thus removed, the nation in general might become more peaceable.*

On the 1st May 1629, six vessels, having on board about two hundred passengers, including four clergymen, sailed from the Isle of Wight. Smith would evidently have been glad to co-operate; but difference of religious views seems again to have prevented negotiation. He describes them "an absolute crew, only of the elect, holding all but such as themselves as reprobate;" and before sailing, all those persons were dismissed whose character was thought to make them unsuitable companions. The seamen were surprised and edified by the new scene which their ships presented,—prayer and exposition of the word two or three times a-day; the Sabbath entirely spent in preaching and catechising; repeated and solemn fasts for the success of the voyage. They arrived on the 24th June, and found only eight or

* Neal, vol. i. pp. 136, 137. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 372.

ten hovels, which, with others scattered along the coast, contained about 100 settlers. A site, already marked out, had its name changed from Nahumkeik to Salem; while a large party removed to Mishaum, which they called Charleston.*

The colonists suffered severely during the winter under the usual evils of a new settlement, especially in so rigorous a climate. No fewer than eighty died; yet the spirits of the rest continued unbroken, and they transmitted by no means unfavourable reports to England. Mr Higgeson, the principal clergyman, was one of the victims; yet he had previously prepared a narrative, which painted the country under the most flattering colours, as "a wonderment, outstripping the increase of Egypt,—yielding from thirty to sixty fold; the ears of corn nowhere so great and plentiful." He adds, "shall such a man as I lie? It becometh not a preacher of the truth to be a writer of falsehood in any degree."† Yet the picture was much too highly coloured, though we hope not intentionally. At home it was extensively read, and produced a strong impression. An extraordinary movement had in fact taken place among those to whom their religious welfare was an object of paramount interest; and their promptitude to remove was greatly increased by an arrangement, according to which the meetings of the Company might be held in New England. The colonists thus carried the charter along with them, and were entirely released from all dependence upon Great Britain. A body of emigrants was formed, much superior to their predecessors in numbers, wealth, education, and intelligence. The principal lay members were, Winthrop, Dudley, and Johnston; the two first of whom were successively governors, while the other was accompanied by his wife, Lady Arabella, a daughter of the house of Lincoln.

* Mather's Ecclesiastical History of New England (folio, Lond. 1702), book iii. p. 74.

† Bancroft, vol. i. p. 379. Higgeson's New England's Plantation. 1630.

The party thus assembled from various quarters was ready to sail early in the spring of 1630. The expedition consisted of seventeen vessels, and nearly 1500 settlers, who were respectable as well for their intelligence as for their rank in society. They published an account of their motives for removal, taking an affectionate leave of their friends in England, in which they said, "our eyes shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, while we are in our poor cottages in the wilderness." They went, however, with little experience in the mysteries of settlement, and without any suspicion of their own ignorance. Smith intimates that he saw clearly the errors which they were committing, but no regard was paid to his warning voice. They had received a false impression, for which Mr Higgeson must be partly blamed, that they were going to a land already in the enjoyment of plenty; whereas the existing settlers were looking anxiously to them for supplies. Want of food and shelter, and a change in the habits of life, which with many of them had been those of ease and comfort, produced the usual distressing consequences; and in the first month from eighty to one hundred died, among whom Lady Arabella and her husband were particularly lamented. The hopes of religion, the firmness of the leaders, and the high motives by which they were inspired, carried them through this period of heavy trial. They spread themselves over the coast,—a large proportion going to Charleston. Part of these were attracted by a situation at the very head of the bay, named by the Indians Shawmut, where they founded a town called first Trimountain, and afterwards Boston, under which name it has become famous.*

Emigration during the two next years considerably diminished, probably owing to the reports being less favourable. In the course of that time, however, the industry of the colonists greatly improved their situation. Winthrop even laments that the high wages of

* Neal, vol. i. p. 147-150.

labour, amounting to 2s. 6d. a-day, led to idleness and dissipation. These accounts were transmitted to England, where the puritan spirit was gaining new strength, while Charles and Laud were using additional efforts to suppress it; hence the emigration of 1633 became highly important, including several distinguished clergymen. The chief of these was Mr Cotton of Boston, in Lincolnshire, the most esteemed of all the puritan ministers. At the university he had been distinguished both by deep learning and brilliant eloquence; though, on adopting stricter views of religion, he preferred a simple and earnest address. By his congregation he was venerated at once for his zealous and persuasive preaching, and for the extreme mildness of his deportment. It being rumoured, however, that certain of Laud's ceremonies were omitted in the church of Boston, he was summoned before the dread tribunal of the ecclesiastical commission. He applied in this extremity to the Earls of Dorset and Lindsey, who had expressed much esteem for him; but they replied that had it been a charge of drunkenness, or any other immorality, they could easily have arranged the affair; but since it was an omission in the daily service, their only advice was to flee the country. He left home in disguise, and after some vain attempts made by his friends to detain him, joined the body of emigrants. A similar step was taken by Hooker and Stone, to obtain the benefit of whose ministrations many were induced to attach themselves to the expedition.*

In 1634, a fleet of twenty sail carried out numerous colonists, among whom was Sir Henry Vane, who became afterwards one of the most distinguished characters of the age. As population increased, the range of settlement was extended; and, in 1636, a detachment proceeded to the river of Connecticut to occupy a station for some time projected. In 1637, a large squadron was in preparation, when the court took the alarm. The nation seemed about to be drained of its people, and Eng-

* Mather, book iii. p. 19.

land as it were to be moving across the Atlantic. The well known and unwelcome cause rendered it only wonderful that so much indulgence had hitherto been shown. A proclamation was now issued against "the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects to America," and the lord treasurer was directed to stay the vessels now in the Thames, and cause the passengers and goods to be landed. The discontent at this measure was extreme; loud complaints were made by the puritans that they were neither allowed to live in nor to depart out of the kingdom. By special permission, in fact, or even without it, most of them reached the coast of New England.*

But the insurrection, which was afterwards excited by the attempt to impose the liturgy on Scotland, the enforced calling of a parliament, and the memorable train of consequent changes, made persecution cease, and removed all disposition to leave England. Emigration was thus for a long time almost entirely suspended; yet not till the foundations had been laid of a great and powerful colony. In the course of ten years, there had arrived about 21,000 emigrants in 198 ships, and carrying with them property, estimated, we imagine much too low, at £200,000. The necessary outlay for each is stated, in 1630, as follows:—

Provisions,	£7	11	8
Apparel,	3	8	6
Tools,	0	17	6
Building implements,	3	0	0
Arms,	2	0	0
Fishing implements,	0	10	1
	£17	7	9

The very poorest, by saving animal food, and retrenching their outlay on some of the other articles, could reduce the amount to little more than £10. A large proportion of the emigrants, however, belonging to the middling and even higher ranks, were doubtless much better

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 444. Winthrop. Neal, vol. i. p. 168.

provided.* These, however, now experienced a severe crisis. Formerly they had complained of the enormous prices of agricultural produce; but through the increased cultivation, and the demand being diminished by fewer arrivals, they had become ruinously low. Indian corn had fallen from 6s. to 3s. a-bushel; a cow, instead of £20 or upwards, brought only from £5 to £7. All property being depreciated, men supposed to be rich, found themselves deeply embarrassed. The situation of this class was much aggravated by the continuance of wages at an exorbitant rate. An attempt to reduce them by statute having of course failed, a trial was made of persuasion; but this expedient, though it promised at first better, naturally proved equally vain in the end. This crisis, however, distressing as it might be to individuals, was inevitable in such a colony, and in fact did not impede its ultimate progress in the chief industrial pursuits.†

The people, thus established on the shores of New England, were of a peculiar, and in many respects valuable character. They regarded their religious welfare as the object in life to which every other ought to be considered secondary. Their desire was, that the scriptures should be the basis on which the whole framework of their society should rest. The maintenance of their rigid principles, in the face of a browbeating opposition, induced a somewhat stern temper, not quite in unison with the mild spirit of the gospel. But their anxiety to regulate their life by its pure precepts, the fixed and persevering character which these high motives gave to their exertions, were peculiarly valuable in a situation where there was so much both to be done and to be suffered.

In pursuance of these principles, the right of citizenship was confined to church members. To this privilege the candidate was admitted by the minister and lay

* A Proclamation of Provision, &c. London, 1630. Sheet.
† Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in Massachusetts. By John Winthrop. Hartford, 1790, p. 215-218, &c.

elders, who required not only a suitable profession, but such a disclosure of his experience as might enable them to judge of his spiritual state. Eminent historians* have viewed this arrangement as vesting the whole political power in an ecclesiastical oligarchy; a conclusion in which we cannot concur. They decided, indeed, without appeal; but they were exercising a solemn spiritual function, which it would have been contrary to their principles to have converted into a political engine. Such a step would have been justly condemned by the people, who had ample means of judging; since an arrangement was early made, and long continued, by which the whole congregation was present at these examinations. Yet it does not appear, during the troublous periods which followed, when church authority was much arraigned, that this sacred charge was ever suspected of being perverted. We conceive it also a great mistake to suppose, that the church members would form only a small proportion of the population. This privilege being essential to the holding any respectable place in such a society, would doubtless be possessed by all but the few excluded by serious disqualification.

The emigrants had belonged to the church of England, in which, under certain conditions, they had been willing to remain. But when left to their own uncontrolled decision, they not only rejected all the obnoxious ceremonies, but constituted every congregation, with the ministers and elders of its own election, independent of all other ecclesiastical power. They formed, however, a platform of doctrine and discipline, to which all were required to conform. This was carried so far, that a party, who insisted upon still maintaining the rites of their original church, were obliged to return to England. A new code of laws was established, rather upon scriptural precedents than upon civil statute. Offences against property were dealt with more mildly than till very lately in any European country; the guilty person

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Chalmers, p. 153. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 391.

being only sentenced to ample restitution, or, in extreme cases, to be sold into slavery. But blasphemy, reviling of religion and worship, contemptuous profanation of the Lord's-day, and, finally, the breach of the marriage-vow, were declared capital. No severity could prevent the extensive prevalence of such disorders; yet such was the awe over the public mind, that the discovery was usually made by the offender confessing and surrendering himself to justice. Winthrop even mentions a married woman who had abandoned herself to extreme misconduct, deriding the silly example of those who became informers against themselves, yet who ultimately took the same course.*

In regard to political liberty, the colonists equally went beyond what was intended or expected. By the original charter, the whole power, legislative and executive, was vested in a governor, deputy-governor, and thirteen assistants, to be chosen by the members or freemen, not of the colony, but of the company. These, at least four times a-year, were to meet and decide on important concerns. To the first emigrants the court graciously allowed the choice of two assistants; in other respects, they had not a vestige of political privilege. This arbitrary government was, by the simple transference of the sittings of the company to America, converted into an almost pure democracy. Its freemen were then held to be the entire body of the settlers, limited only by the spiritual qualification; they elected all the executive officers, and exercised the supreme power. As their assembly in a body, however, was inconvenient, a meeting of two deputies from each township was arranged to assist in the processes of legislation. Thus New England was formed at once into a representative republic.† The laws, however, still displayed a considerably aristocratic tendency, recommending, for example, that the magistrates should be chosen "out of the rank of

* Chalmers, p. 167-168. Winthrop, pp. 149, 226, 227. Neal, vol. ii. p. 294. An Abstract of the Lawes of New England (London, 1641), p. 10-13. † Bancroft, vol. i. p. 373-381.

noblemen and gentlemen, the best that God shall send into this country." They even enact the punishment of death for reviling of the governor and council, and condemn to slavery for certain offences.*

These transactions tended seriously to displease many leading men in England. A petition was presented from Gorges, Mason, and some refugees, complaining of arbitrary and violent proceedings, tending to the dishonour of the country, and the ultimate ruin of the settlement. Powerful interest, however, was used in their favour; and Charles himself, it appeared, felt an anxiety for colonial prosperity, which overbalanced his love of power. By a minute of the Privy Council, dated 19th January 1632, it was declared that their lordships did not lay the faults and fancies of particular men upon the general government; that an inquiry would be attended with great difficulty and expense, and might discourage those who were busied in sending out men, victuals, and merchandise; and that the king was resolved to maintain the liberties hitherto granted, and supply any thing further wanted for their prosperity.

The enemies of the colony, however, continued to make urgent representations; and these were too well suited to the temper of the ruling party not to produce an effect. In 1634, an inquiry was raised as to the system of colonial church discipline; and the letters patent of the company were required to be produced. A commission, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at its head, was invested with full authority to regulate the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of New England. In this exigency, the settlers opposed a passive resistance, in which they were supported by their clergy: without directly refusing to comply, they took no notice of having received the mandates; but, in case matters should come to extremity, they subscribed a considerable sum to fortify the town of Boston. Meantime

* Abstract of Lawes, p. 1-13.

restraints were placed upon emigration; none above the rank of serving-men were allowed to remove without special leave; and these were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. These measures were followed up in 1635 by a *quo warranto*, entered against the company in the court of King's Bench. Judgment was pronounced accordingly; but before the proceedings were closed, Mason, the most active instigator of them, died. This produced a temporary suspension, and the unabated rigour towards the nonconformists caused large emigrations. These, in the spring of 1637, roused with peculiar force the jealousy of the court, and, as formerly mentioned, an order was sent to stay them. At the same time, the proceedings instituted for subverting the patent were revived, and a demand was sent out that it should be returned, with a threat, in case of refusal, that the king would assume the whole administration into his own hands. The leading men of the colony drew up a very spirited remonstrance, representing the extreme hardship of this proceeding, and even cautiously intimating a danger of popular resistance. This, probably, would have little availed them, had not Charles, at the time of its arrival, found himself involved in the disastrous contest, arising out of his attempts upon Scotland, which, so far as he was personally concerned, brought matters to a fatal termination.*

But the diversion hereby produced did not procure for the colony the repose which was so desirable. The religious feeling which ought to have inspired a spirit of peace, became, through an unfortunate combination of circumstances, a fertile source of discord. Among the protestants, two classes might be distinctly traced, who soon became bitterly opposed to each other. The one having, as they conceived, thrown off the errors of popery, and established a new system of doctrine and worship founded on the scriptures, sought to re-establish on this

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 438-449. Neal, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

new basis that spiritual unity which appeared to them most desirable. The dogmatic spirit, which soon springs up in the human mind, made them attach to every part of their system a sacred character, and they could not believe that others, whose feelings were not grossly perverted, could dissent from it. This party not only strongly condemned farther innovation, but employed compulsory and sometimes violent measures against it. The other class, on the contrary, insisted that the Reformation was only begun, and should be a continued and progressive movement. They sought, not a gradual change, but a new one as mighty as that already produced; one by which, in short, every thing that was now sacred might become profane. This object was sought not by study, inquiry, or the learned interpretation of holy writ, all which were condemned or despised. Their place was supplied by inward and sensible revelations and prophetic ecstasies. These coming direct from on high, were represented as not only rendering all human learning utterly superfluous, but even the sacred volume itself of secondary value. Yet it is remarkable that this class first originated and zealously supported the great principle of religious liberty. We doubt, however, the justness of the opinion entertained by some writers that this resolution was the fruit of wisdom. It was perhaps inevitably prompted by their position as proscribed sects, opposed to the greatly superior number of those who sought to enforce a fixed basis of belief and worship. It was only under a system of unlimited liberty that they could safely venture on these daring flights.

In England the episcopal, and in Scotland the presbyterian religion, had assumed a fixed form, which the latter sought to maintain and diffuse over the three kingdoms. The independents, a small but rising body, destined soon to gain a temporary ascendency, led the movement. The New England ministers had formed congregations on a similar principle; yet they soon organized a uniform doctrine and worship, which assumed a character approaching to the presbyterian. They

were the most favoured of the popular clergy; many of them learned, almost all zealous, diligent, and beloved by their people, various of whom had crossed the ocean with the sole view of enjoying their ministrations. They seemed, therefore, to have the fairest prospect of continuing to instruct respectful and affectionate flocks, undisturbed by dissent or innovation. When therefore the movement broke out with peculiar violence, and they saw their churches half-deserted, from the multitude thronging after strange teachers, they did not display all the forbearance that might have been desired. It has been made a special ground of reproach against them, that after fleeing from home to obtain freedom of conscience, they denied it to others. It may be observed, however, that their object was not this abstract freedom, nor to make New England a theatre of inquiry what true religion was; on this point they went out fully satisfied. They desired to enjoy it, to make it the centre of their social and political system; to form, in short, a church rather than a state in the wilderness. The country is described by Norton, as "a plantation of religion, not a plantation of trade. The profession of purity in doctrine, worship, and discipline, is written on her forehead. If she fall away from this profession, call her Ichabod, the glory is departed." This same writer declares his respect for liberty of conscience, but asks whether this is to be confounded with "liberty of error,—a liberty to blaspheme,—to seduce men from the true God,—to tell lies in the name of the Lord." He considers not that he is here assuming his own doctrine to be infallibly true, and all others erroneous. He allows, indeed, for "heresy quiet," including even the cautious owning of the error, but not for "heresy turbulent," or its active propagation. The quiet form, however, was one under which religious opinion in that age was little inclined to appear; and as the zealous sects usually confined salvation to their own creed, they could not conscientiously abstain from every possible means of diffusing it among their fellow-men. Here, however,

such a course not only disturbed the church, but shook to its foundation the whole frame of society; hence was taken a resolution to suppress it by violence. The law enacted death against such heretics as should attempt to seduce others.* In fact, however, banishment was usually awarded, less as a punishment than as a means of delivering the society from them; and it was only when they resisted it, that other penalties, sometimes of extreme severity, were successively inflicted.

The first great schism which rent the colony was raised by Roger Williams, a young divine, who went out in the year 1631, and soon becoming highly popular, was chosen minister of Salem. Considerable learning, an ardent eloquence, and a temper peculiarly amiable, or, as Winslow expresses it, "a lovely carriage," rendered him a general favourite. For some time he was equally beloved by clergy and people; but he soon began to adopt peculiar notions, which he gradually extended, till at last he withdrew from the communion of all the churches both in England and America, denouncing them as quite unscriptural. His views have been generally considered as marked by wild extravagance, though mingled with a few enlightened ideas. Mr Bancroft, however, followed by other American writers, has exalted him into a philosopher equal to the greatest in any age, and with whom Socrates, Newton, Pascal, might be proud to rank as compeers. We must confess our adherence to the former opinion, being satisfied that the learned author just named has drawn from an image of light and liberty in his own mind, rather than from Williams' works. Our judgment is formed from two of his tracts, which appear to contain a complete outline of his system; and as his doctrines seem to mark an era in the progress of the movement, a rapid sketch of them, chiefly in his own words, may interest the reader.

His fundamental principle consisted in utterly proscribing all human learning as a preparation for the work of the christian ministry. The very term of scholar

* Abstract of Lawes (1641), p. 10.

(disciple) in a divine sense, is branded by him as "sacrilegious and thievish, robbing the saints and believers." But what was to be said of their popish and vaunting titles, bachelor of divinity, doctor of divinity? Their colleges are described as "seminaries of hirelings and of mystical merchants, whom their great Head will spew out of his mouth." He is then however pressed with the question, how ministers left wholly uninstructed should be able to understand and teach heavenly mysteries, since it must be acknowledged that the miraculous gifts of the first ages had ceased? In reply, he lays open indeed a dark scene. "Too true it was, these first glorious ministerial gifts had ceased; hence the desolation and widowhood of Zion." For without them, without the same commission and the same gifts bestowed on the twelve and on the seventy, it was vain to think of teaching and baptizing the world. "Without this," he says, "I have no faith to act, nor in the actings and ministerings of others." As all the churches in Europe and America attempted to teach without these gifts, he felt himself bound to withdraw from their communion. In each he admits that divine power whitened a few Ethiopians, washed the spots of a few leopards; among these, he intimates, were Mr Cotton and other ministers whom, for personal godliness, he honoured and loved. But, being only a few roses scattered over a wilderness, they could not constitute a church. Christ's garden, it is said, must be completely walled in from the world; if he sees the least gap, he breaks the wall wholly down, and all becomes a desert, as "at this day." On the whole, having the sobriety of mind to acknowledge that these supernatural powers did not exist in himself or his cotemporaries, he came to the conclusion, that at present there was not, and could not be, a church on earth; that it was a criminal presumption in any one to attempt teaching another. He seems still to have somehow viewed himself as a clergyman; but his ministrations were strictly confined to a very few, of whose state he thought himself assured. All others were strictly debarred, not

only from ordinances, but from all spiritual instruction and means of grace. Mr Cotton pressed him strongly on this "withholding of the spiritual corn;" and he parries the charge chiefly by retort. On the whole, however, for a christian minister to consider it unlawful to preach the gospel, is an impression as strange and unfortunate as could well be conceived.

But when he was asked if no hope was left for mankind; if the gospel had been given in vain; and whether the world must remain for ever buried in this awful darkness, he held out a more cheering though distant prospect. He viewed it as depending on the existence of that impious and depraved power who holds sway in papal Rome, the mystic Babylon. Even in the purest churches there was still "a sipping out of her cup." But the blows she had already received, as well as the tenor of prophecy, inspired sanguine hopes that erelong the great Head of the church "would burne and tear the bloody harlot of Rome in pieces." Then, it was fondly hoped, he himself would appear with his white horsemen; the Spirit would come forth anew in his full power; the world might be converted, and true churches again exist on the earth.

Upon these grounds he concludes, that the state ought not only to tolerate, but to grant the most complete civil equality to all religious professions whatever. It is difficult to see the connexion of this inference with the premises, which would rather sanction the conclusion that all religious worship and instruction should be strictly prohibited, as a complete profanation of sacred things. Probably, when it came to this point, he shrunk back, and had already formed, on more rational grounds, suggested by his peculiar situation, his antipathy to "the body-killing, soul-killing, and state-killing doctrine of persecution."*

* The Hireling Ministry, by Roger Williams (London, 1692), pp. 12-15, 17, 21, 22. Mr Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered, London, 1644, pp. 5-8, 14, 15, 19, 20, 36-45. The latter pamphlet, which contains the most copious exposition of his views, is not quoted by Mr Bancroft.

The ministers and rulers of the colony are described as cherishing a strong personal attachment to Williams, and feeling much grief, when every arrival from Salem brought accounts of some new flight he had taken. He began by proclaiming that King James had publicly told a solemn lie when he named the English as the first discoverers of the coast. Although this was considered a speaking evil of dignities, yet being only a speculative and somewhat doubtful question, it was passed over. He then proclaimed that our countrymen had no right whatever to the lands occupied; but this opinion, too, founded on equitable principles, was, on proper explanation, at least excused. He denounced and even raised a tumult on the subject of the red cross in the banner; this also was compromised. But when he proclaimed all the churches in the colony as antichristian, and excommunicated such of his parishioners as held any intercourse with them, the ire of the ministers and rulers was kindled. They seem, indeed, to have had sufficient ground to provide another pastor for the people of Salem, from whom all spiritual ministrations were now withheld. Not, however, content with this step, they forthwith convened a general court, and by no very large majority, passed a sentence of banishment. Apprehensions were entertained arising from the attachment of the people of Salem to him; but on the subject being represented to them, they acquiesced without a dissentient voice. As the rigour of winter had set in, they determined at first so far to mitigate his doom as to allow him to remain till spring. Information being received, however, that he continued actively, and with considerable success to disseminate his opinions, the somewhat harsh resolution was formed of immediately shipping him for his native land. This might have appeared a milder exile than into the unexplored wilds of America; but he seems to have formed the ambition of founding a transatlantic colony, modelled entirely according to his own peculiar ideas. Accordingly on learning that a warrant had been issued against him, he set out with a few followers, to seek shelter in the vast

wilderness. His sufferings, in the extremity of winter, without bed, bread, or any shelter but in the hollow of a tree, may be easily imagined. He describes himself as "plucked up by the roots, beset with losses, distractions, miseries, hardships of sea and land, debts and wants." The ministers still kept up a kindly correspondence, to which he answered, expressing his esteem, and bitterly acknowledging "their sympathy with one so afflicted and persecuted by themselves;" yet wonders why he, whom they named "beloved in Jesus," should be forbidden to breathe the same air, and inhabit the common earth. His first shelter was from the Indian sachems Massassoit and Canonicus, whom he had conciliated by respect for their rights and by kindly behaviour. "The ravens," he says, "fed him in the wilderness." He attempted first a settlement at Seekonk, but finding it to be within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, crossed over to the fine territory of Rhode Island, where he encountered no prior European titles. Here, having proclaimed a general religious liberty and established a mild rule, he rendered his colony a refuge for all the partisans of the movement; and as these, soon afterwards, became extremely numerous, the population rapidly increased, till Rhode Island acquired an important place among the states of New England.

The Massachusetts rulers, however, had scarcely eradicated from their land the seeds of this heresy, when they were assailed by a more formidable one from a very unexpected quarter. The colonists, having made so many sacrifices for the sake of religion, devoted to it an almost exclusive attention, which might require to be supported by some novelty. The men, involved in many occupations and difficulties, had less leisure to ponder the subject; but of the female emigrants, many, raised by their situation above toil, devoted their whole minds to this study. They soon became convinced of their capacity to treat with success its abstrusest dogmas, and to discover errors in the most learned ministers. A privilege had been granted to hearers, at the end of the

sermon, to ask questions, "wisely and sparingly;" and this they used for the purpose of putting searching interrogations, calculated to expose the errors of the preacher and the superior wisdom of the inquirer. The ministers, annoyed by these conferences, determined altogether to exclude from them the female part of their congregations; but these zealous theologians, naturally dissatisfied with such treatment, resolved not to cease their discussions. Mrs Hutchinson, a Lincolnshire lady of good birth and great energy of character, held every Sabbath evening a numerous meeting, where these topics were discussed at full length; and the conclusion was attained that the teachers and congregations of the colony were alike in total darkness, and must undergo a radical change before they could hope for divine favour.

The doctrines embraced with such ardent zeal were those termed antinomian, into the details of which we shall not at present enter. According to them, salvation depended wholly upon an unconditional election, which, being made known to its object by a supernatural assurance, rendered reformation of heart and conduct wholly superfluous, even as a test of his spiritual state. It is not, indeed, alleged that this doctrine led its female advocates, at least, to indulge profligate and immoral habits. The clergy, however, though their tenets were decidedly Calvinistic, strenuously inculcated reformation of manners as the test of a sound spiritual state, and viewed with alarm the doctrine of their opponents, as tending to make an entire separation between faith and practice.

Although this heresy was as yet only partial, it was easy to foresee, from the class among whom it arose, that the diffusion would be rapid. "A poison," says Mather, "does never insinuate so quickly, nor operate so strongly, as when women's milk is the vehicle." The clergy, hitherto regarded with such profound respect, soon learned that they were denounced in the female coterie as the blind leaders of the blind, and that the majority of the people of Boston were completely

alienated. Many who had crossed three thousand miles of ocean, and braved death itself, to sit under their ministry, would not now listen to a word which they uttered. Their churches, if not deserted, were at least greatly thinned; while that of Mr Wheelwright, brother-in-law to Mrs Hutchinson, and a zealous advocate of her views, could not contain the crowds that thronged for admission.*

The older ministers themselves were somewhat divided. Of Mr Wilson and Mr Cotton, the two most distinguished and influential, the former inveighed against the new tenets with extreme violence, while the latter treated them with indulgence, and was even regarded as one of their votaries. Mrs Hutchinson had gone out to enjoy his ministry, and a close intimacy prevailed between them. Henry Vane, too, a youth of splendid talents, heir to a princely fortune, and son to Charles the First's chief secretary, having embraced with zeal puritan principles utterly opposed to those of his father, was induced to prefer the society of Massachusetts to that of England. He took up his residence with Mr Cotton. The colonists gave him the most ardent welcome, exulting in the preference shown by such a man to their rising settlement; while the objection derived from his youth was removed by his gravity and deep theological learning. At the next annual election of governor, he was raised to that station at the early age of twenty-four. He was a decided partisan of the movement or independent party, of which in England he became the head, next to Cromwell, and with much greater consistency. The rise of the antinomian tenets disturbed his government. Whether he actually embraced them cannot be fully ascertained; but he continued intimate with their supporters, and, being an advocate of religious freedom, effectually checked any measures for their suppression. The old party, therefore, considered his removal essential to

* Mather, book vii. chap. iii. p. 14. Winthrop, p. 139.

Governor Winthrop.

their object, and on the next election brought forward Mr Winthrop. A struggle of extraordinary violence took place; and the antinomians, in their effort to obtain "gospel magistrates," were supported by a large majority in Boston. But the country districts adhered to their old ministers; and they formed the greater number. Lest they should be seduced or intimidated by the citizens, it was carried, though not without difficulty, that the election should be made at Cambridge. It went decidedly in favour of Winthrop; and Vane soon after returned to England.*

The party again established in power lost no time

* Neal, vol. i. pp. 184, 185.

in taking measures to suppress the reigning schism. Mr Cotton, whom its adherents still revered and boasted of as their teacher, was called upon to say whether he really approved of the new opinions. A lover of peace and an intimate friend of many on both sides, he seems to have been much troubled to find himself placed in the centre of such dissensions. Having, however, carefully compared the charges of one party with the admissions of the other, he is said to have declared, with tears in his eyes, that though on some few points he might differ from his brethren, he could never sanction such extreme opinions, which he exhorted them to renounce and reconcile themselves to the church. But the ladies had already assumed too decided a position to be thus shaken. They loudly exclaimed that this by no means accorded with his private language; that, overborne by the number and clamour of his brethren, he had swerved from his own judgment, or, at all events, had lost wholly his former deep insight into religious mysteries.

On the failure of this mediation, the governor and ministers determined on calling a general synod to meet at Cambridge. This was a new step, each congregation having hitherto acted almost as a separate body; and it kindled an extraordinary interest. By way of preparation, a solemn fast was appointed, by which it was hoped men's minds might be brought into a suitably calm and deliberate frame; yet it only rendered them more imbittered. Mr Cotton alone attempted a healing discourse; the others tended to inflame the passions of their auditors. Mr Wheelwright, the leading orator on the antinomian side, denounced the magistrates and ministers generally as under a covenant of works, and consequently in a state of perdition. He compared the pending spiritual contest to those of Michael with the apostate angel, or of the pure mystical church with the ruler of Babylon.

On the 30th August 1637, the synod met, consisting of the preachers, deputies from the congregations, and the

magistrates; while the people, in as great numbers as the place could contain, were admitted as hearers. The accused parties were allowed a place, and the liberty of speech, which they are said to have used beyond all proper limits. There had been prepared for condemnation eighty-two propositions, which were stated in an abstract form, without specifying the persons by whom they were held. This seems to have been intended for a conciliatory course, though exclaimed against by many as covert and uncandid. The debates were stormy, and there are on both sides allegations, seemingly not unfounded, of clamour and violence. During three weeks, the propositions were made the subject of a painful discussion, but the issue was a unanimous sentence of condemnation.*

Having achieved this public triumph, the members fondly hoped that they had gained their object, and that the heretical party would no longer rear its head; and hence they were not a little discomposed to find all things proceeding exactly as before. Mrs Hutchinson's private meeting and Mr Wheelwright's chapel were frequented by equal crowds, while Mr Wilson, who once enjoyed extreme popularity, no sooner entered a pulpit than half the congregation rose and went out. All legitimate means of subduing the opposite party having thus proved vain, the unjust resolution was formed to employ the civil arm in its suppression. Proceedings had already been instituted against Mr Wheelwright, but had been delayed till the effect was tried of the synodical decision. On its proving fruitless, he was again called upon to acknowledge his offence, and engage not to repeat it; but he refused to make the slightest concession, maintaining that he had simply declared the truth, and if there was any thing in it that bore hard upon the ministers, the application was of their own making. Hereupon he was ordered to depart from the colony within a fortnight. A number of persons were then summoned,

* Mather, part vii. p. 16. Neal, vol. i. pp. 188, 189.

who, on occasion of the last proceedings against him, had signed a remonstrance declaring their concurrence with every thing he had said, and warning the court "to beware how they meddled with the prophets of God." Two of this body were banished, two fined and disfranchised, and several deprived of their places under government.*

All these were only preliminaries to the attack on the main hold of antinomianism in the person of Mrs. Hutchinson. She does not seem to have intended to brave authority, but rather endeavoured to explain away the charges, declaring that she had never studied to propagate her doctrines, had never taught men, nor even invited her own sex; but that they had voluntarily sought instruction from her. On being closely pressed and warmed by discussion, she "could not contain herself, but vented her revelations." She intimated, that after much trouble she had received communications enabling her infallibly to distinguish between true and false churches. Having thus learned that the Church of England was antichrist, she had accompanied Mr Cotton to Massachusetts. Now, however, by the same power, she saw the darkest ruin impending over the colonial congregations, if they continued to persecute the saints. But neither her sex, nor her respectable place in society, nor her prophetic threats, moved her stern judges. Having been found guilty of holding twenty-six of the eighty-two propositions, she was ordered to leave the colony within six months.

An interval now elapsed, and, seeing the absence both of human aid and of all celestial interposition in her behalf, she felt a disposition to yield. She delivered a statement of her sentiments, which even the members were obliged to own was in a great measure purified from heretical taint. Her pride, however, led her to offer this, not as a recantation, but merely an explanation of what had always been her opinions. If leniently inclined, her prosecutors might at least have made a trial of this

* Winthrop, pp. 143, 144. Neal, vol. i. p. 190-194.

virtual submission; but witnesses having been found to prove that she had, on former occasions, uttered very different sentiments, she was declared to be more deserving than ever of the sentence pronounced against her... It could not, however, be executed till after disarming a great body of the people who had presented an address to the elders, calling upon them to exclude the governor from church privileges. She retired with a number of her followers to Rhode Island, where Williams gave her a cordial reception; and Winthrop describes them as continually employed in hatching between them new heresies. Her husband was for some time governor of this colony, after whose death she purchased the small island of Aquiday, where she was unhappily surprised, and with her whole family murdered by a band of Indians. This event had no real connexion with her banishment, not happening till six years after; yet it caused a strong sensation, heightening the sympathies of some, while by others it was regarded as a judgment.*

Some years subsequently, after a good deal of negotiation, an important arrangement was made. A union or rather confederacy was formed by the four colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Newhaven, and Connecticut, with the view of protecting themselves against the Dutch and French colonists, and more especially against the Indians. The executive body consisted of two commissioners from each colony, whose only qualification was church membership. They had no right to interfere in the internal jurisdiction of any of the states; they could only provide for the general defence, declare war, order levies of troops, and conclude peace. They had even no power to enforce their decrees; they could merely intimate them to the confederated bodies, with whom it rested to carry them into execution. As the league could consist only of orthodox churches, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine were excluded. Williams, con-

* Neal, vol. i. p. 191-194. Winthrop, pp. 144, 150, 174, 229.

sidering his situation to be thereby rendered precarious, made two visits to England, and, through the influence of Vane, obtained a full charter for his little colony.*

Massachusetts was about this time agitated by a contest between a democratic party and the magistrates, who were alleged, notwithstanding the forms of election, to engross almost the whole administration. The former, who for a time gained a majority, exercised their power with little discretion. Riots were excited, and an impeachment was advanced against Winthrop the governor, now become the object of general esteem. A reaction was thus produced. That gentleman was triumphantly acquitted, and continued to be re-elected annually during his life; and though some concessions were granted to the radical party, the general tenor of government went on nearly as before.†

An alarm still more serious arose from the English parliament, which, now completely triumphant, had leisure to turn their attention abroad. In 1643, they appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief and lord-high-admiral of the colonies, aided by a council of five peers and twelve commoners. His powers, which included the removal as well as the appointment of subordinate officers, would have almost entirely subverted the franchises of New England. The independent party, too, who were fast rising into supremacy, had proclaimed the freedom and civil equality of all religious sects. A deep sensation was thereby excited among the American dissidents, now excluded from all political functions, which many would have purchased even by the sacrifice of colonial rights. A considerable party drew up a remonstrance to the parliament, and intrusted its conveyance to faithful deputies. This measure, which created much alarm among the rulers, was warded off in a manner singularly characteristic of the age and place. Mr Cotton preached a sermon, intimating his conviction that the ship carried with her a Jonas, without being

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 454-460. Chalmers, p. 177. † Ibid. p. 181.

disburdened of which she would never reach her destination. Such a prophecy had an obvious tendency to produce its own fulfilment. A heavy gale sprung up; the vessel laboured; and the minds of the sailors were impressed with superstitious awe. After much doleful communing, "a discreet and godly woman" went down to the deputies, and, representing the critical state of the vessel, besought of them this perilous document. Awed probably by the same feelings, they with little hesitation opened the trunk and delivered it up. It was consigned to the waves; the Atlantic was thus propitiated, and they reached England; nor does any further inquiry seem to have been made after the remonstrance, which thus strangely failed of its destination.*

The colony, however, was soon involved in the same danger by an event which also strikingly displays the character of the times. One Gorton, who had arrived from England, caused such disturbances that he was banished, and sought the usual refuge of Rhode Island, where he developed his religious system, which appears wild in the extreme. He is said to have held that the great characters of the New Testament had reappeared, and were acting in Massachusetts,—the most wicked of them being identified with its magistrates and ministers; while his votaries viewed himself as an incarnation of the divine founder of Christianity. The sacraments and ordinances were scouted with the most profane derision. Chalmers represents Williams as giving him a cordial reception, which was so far from being the case, that we find the latter expressing the utmost horror and determination to resist to the utmost his "inhabitation." It proved, however, that his enthusiastic and impetuous zeal subdued all opposition in this society. Williams complains that "he was bewitching and bemadding poor Providence," that "all sucked in his poison." At length a compromise was made, that

* New England's Salamander. By Edward Winslow. London, 1647, p. 16-18.

Gorton should form a separate settlement in a district procured by treaty from the Indians. The chief of that nation, however, complained that it had been a most violent seizure, his hand having been grasped and forcibly applied to the document. He appealed to the magistrates of Massachusetts, who readily took up the complaint. They appointed a commission to mediate on the occasion, who wrote a letter to Gorton, asserted to have been very moderate. He returned an answer which affords we think the most complete example of vituperation and fury that we have ever perused. He addresses the general court as "the great and honoured idol-general set up in Massachusetts." He describes their spiritual darkness such as to place "the things concerning the kingdom of God infinitely beyond the reach of their spirit;" and particularly derides their learning and libraries; while his ignorant and despised people would "bring to nought all their rhetorical though earthly flourishes." It was astonishing they could read the Bible, and not see in themselves the counterparts of Herod and Pilate, as well as of the persecutors of the sackcloth-covered witnesses, now lying unburied in the streets of Boston the spiritual Sodom. In regard to the specific charges, he gives merely a broad denial, and defies the court, saying that he and his followers "sit in safety behind the cloudy pillar."

The magistrates were not men tamely to endure such contumely, alleging that they were entitled to deal with him either as a refractory subject or a foreign enemy. They sent the commission attended by forty armed men to bring him a prisoner. As they approached, Gorton's confidence in supernatural aid began to waver, and he proposed a reference to Williams; but this appeared a quarter not sufficiently friendly, nor were they now disposed to stop. He and his adherents sought to defend themselves in a large fortified house; but on the first attack the greater number fled; the rest, himself included, were taken and conveyed to Boston. Though Winslow denies the allegation that his chief offence

was religious, yet it appears that any concession on that head would have disposed them to be very lenient. As he obstinately persisted, the court proceeded to the violent step of condemning him to death; but the deputies merely ordained that he and his followers should labour in chains in different districts. It being found that under this martyrdom they both excited sympathy and gained converts, they were soon set at liberty. Gorton, then repairing to England, published "Simplicity's Defence against Seven-headed Policy;" and, by representations to the leading men, procured a parliamentary order to restore his possessions. This caused a serious dismay to the colonists, not only from its bearing on the case itself, but because it implied a claim to interfere in their domestic affairs. Edward Winslow hastened to Britain, published an elaborate refutation of Gorton's assertions, protesting, at the same time, against the attempted dictation. The general court also transmitted a temperate but firm remonstrance on the same subject. The republican leaders, in a manner not unworthy of their principles, denied any wish to interfere with the rights of the colonists, or encourage appeals from their courts. They only proposed somewhat earnestly that the latter should accept a new patent from the parliament, and rule in its name; a boon which, as they considered their original position more secure, they respectfully declined. Cromwell, who soon afterwards came into power, troubled himself little with colonial details, and was favourable to Massachusetts. He even offered Jamaica to them for settlement; but they wisely preferred their own rude but healthy domain.*

The rulers of New England were thus for a long period exempt from any troubles except those springing from the succession of new sects, and their own pertina-

* Bancroft, vol. i. p. 475-481. Hypocrysie Unmasked, by Edward Winslow, London, 1646. This pamphlet, containing by much the fullest account (with documents) of Gorton's affair, does not seem to have been known to former historians.

cious attempts to suppress them. It was no doubt a severe trial to the ministers, who appear really to have been, as they describe themselves, "faithful, watchful, and painful, serving their flocks daily with prayers and tears, with their most studied sermons and writings," to see ignorant half-crazed enthusiasts enjoy the whole popular favour and render their churches almost empty. The next whom they had to encounter were the anabaptists, a German sect who, after passing into England, had crossed the Atlantic. The question between infant and adult baptism might certainly have been coolly debated and with much indulgence; but the extravagancies of John of Munster and King Matthias had created such a prejudice against them, that even Jeremy Taylor excluded them from that liberty of prophesying which he zealously claimed for other sects. Indeed, they seem to have attached an undue importance to their peculiar views, holding those who had received the rite in their infancy as still unbaptized and pagan. Obadiah Holmes first formed a small congregation in the Plymouth territory, which rapidly spread, and seems generally to have absorbed the former classes of the movement. A sister of Mrs Hutchinson embraced it, and made a convert of Williams, who, at an advanced age, was baptized anew. Its rise at Boston was at first obscurely indicated by the retirement of numbers from church before the rite was administered, who repaired to private meetings and secret rebaptism. The rulers had recourse to fines and even whipping; and, finding that these were endured with courage and constancy, they proceeded to inflict banishment. The leaders having been thus driven into the general receptacle at Rhode Island, the others sunk at least into a state of silence.*

But the tranquillity thereby obtained was of short duration; and it was followed by a schism which much more strongly agitated the colony, and involved it in deeper reproach. There had arisen a sect, who, from

* Winthrop, p. 174. Neal, vol. i. p. 298-305.

certain irregular bodily movements, received the derisive name of quakers. They seem to have proceeded to the utmost extremes, rejecting all human learning as well as ordinances, and placing their whole dependence on the direct agency of the Spirit. Williams, as we have seen, regarded this as the only source of religious instruction, but, believing it to be withheld, he placed the world in a state of entire spiritual darkness. This was completely remedied under the quaker system; where every word and every action were understood to be guided by supernatural impulses. When these were so largely vouchsafed to the gifted prophets, there seemed no reason why, like those of the Old Testament, they should not be intrusted with messages and mandates to kings and cities, commanding obedience, announcing judgments, and indicating the means of averting them. The words conveying these orders being full in their minds, and occurring with peculiar force perhaps at midnight or in the solitude of the fields, were readily mistaken for divine communications. In executing such commissions, no regard was paid to human dignities, or to the rules and usages of society; hence they were branded as mad, though their writings are generally in a sober and reasoning tone.

When the quakers were sent to different quarters of the world, it was natural that America should be included. The New England rulers, having heard of their proceedings with horror, and knowing the inflammable character of their own congregations, prepared to meet them with the most rigorous exclusion, and certainly without regard either to the forms or substance of law. In July 1656, when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived from Barbadoes, an officer was instantly sent on board, who conveyed them to prison, and seized all their books and papers, some of which were burned by the common executioner. They were denied pen, ink, paper, and candle, and a window which opened to the street was boarded up. After some weeks' confinement, the captain who brought them was obliged

to take them away at his own expense, and give bond in £100 to land them in Europe.* Mary was soon after honoured by a message to the Grand Turk, from whom she met a far different reception.†

The rulers, having held the two prophetesses in such rigorous seclusion, hoped that all danger of contamination was prevented; but they were soon somewhat disconcerted upon receiving a remonstrance, tenderly entreating them to beware, lest they should be found fighting against God. The writer, who proved an old church member, was immediately fined and banished. England, however, sent out a continued succession, who found in Rhode Island a secure point upon which they could retreat, and whence they could advance. The narrative given by Captain Fowler of the voyage in which he took out Dorothy Waugh, exhibits the enthusiastic hopes with which some of those persons were filled. He describes

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Bishope, New England judged not by Man's but by the Spirit of the Lord (Lond. 1661), p. 5-11.

† Bishope has given a curious account of this mission. She went first to Smyrna, whence the English consul sent her back to Venice. Thence, however, she found her way to Greece, and then to Adrianople, near which the Grand Seignior was encamped. Having in vain attempted to induce any of the citizens to announce her mission, she sallied forth alone to the camp, and prevailed upon a sentinel to inform the Grand Vizier. After some time, a message came, desiring her to return next morning. She went accordingly, and found the monarch seated in full pomp, amid numerous attendants, and with three interpreters. He asked her message, when, somewhat unseasonably, Mary "was silent, waiting on the Lord." Imagining her overawed by the numbers present, or fearful of giving offence, he offered to send away as many as she chose, and declared himself ready to hear her mandate, whatever it might be. Speech was then given to her, and she delivered the message, which is not recorded; but his majesty said,—it was truth, and he could not but respect one that came so far to deliver it. He asked her to remain in the country, and, on her desiring to go to Constantinople, offered and even pressed a guard, on account of the disturbed state of the intermediate districts; but Mary "placed her whole trust in the arm of the Lord." Being asked her opinion of Mohammed, she seems to have somewhat temporized, declaring she knew him not, but they should judge of him according as his prophecies were fulfilled.—Bishope, pp. 19, 20.

them as "the servants of the Lord, coming with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm." At a critical period of the passage, a mighty voice was heard: "the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea."* Very different was their reception at Boston, where fine, the lash, imprisonment, and finally death, awaited them. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that the magistrates merely intended to inflict banishment, which, in their actual circumstances, amounted only to exclusion. The former sectaries had submitted to this sentence, and the district had been cleared of them; but not so the quakers, who had no sooner been thrust out than they reappeared, proclaiming their doctrines with the same loud and enthusiastic zeal. The extreme punishments, therefore, were inflicted, not on account of their opinions, but for returning from banishment. On the other hand, the prophets declared themselves to be perfectly disposed to obey all lawful authority; but it rested in no respect with them whether they should or should not return; wherever the Lord sent them, they must go. They were told they should at least request permission to come within the bounds of a foreign jurisdiction; but they asked, "could the Lord of heaven and earth not send a message to the people of Boston without first asking their leave?" These messages, it must be owned, were by no means courteous. The town now named, which not without reason esteemed herself somewhat eminent for enlightened and true religion, was addressed as one of the guilty cities of old, on which fire might be expected to descend from heaven. John Rous wrote: "Boston is a withered leaf, the sap of the vine is departed from it; your profession is become barren; ye are departed from the Lord. How is thy beauty faded, thou that wast famous among the nations." Elizabeth Horton ran through the streets during the night calling out, "that the Lord was coming forth with fire and sword to plead with Boston." The irreverent and opprobrious language applied

* A Quaker's Sea Journal, by Robert Fowler (Lond. 1659), pp. 3, 7.

to the most distinguished persons, even when seated on the tribunals, is particularly objected to, and seemingly not without reason, even judging by their own representations. Katherine Scott, sister to Mrs Hutchinson, called out in court, "you take too much upon you, magistrates, more than ever God gave you;" and, at another time,—"the Lord open your blind eyes and soften your hard hearts. Alas for your blindness, that diabolical spirit that worketh in you!" Doubtless they pleaded their high commission as authorizing such language; but this was wholly disallowed by the opposite party. The female votaries, too, always the most fervid, displayed their zeal sometimes in a manner not quite becoming their sex. Several, to make their testimony effectual, considered it needful to lay aside their clothes. One began a march through Salem, another entered the church in this condition.* We cannot certainly blame the magistrates for causing these prophetesses to be seized and committed to the house of correction; but we must not conceal our conviction that many of the proceedings against them were very little conformable either to English law or to natural justice. The severest punishments were inflicted simply for owning themselves to be those whom the world in scorn called quakers, though they denied all ground for the use of the term, or the reproaches associated with it. They were punished for blasphemies, heresies, and diabolical opinions; yet no instances of these were specified, nor opportunity of explanation afforded. All the proof of these dreadful charges, received however as amply sufficient, was, that they said "thou and thee," and wore their hats. A party being under examination, one of whom used the word *thee*, the magistrate exclaimed, "We need no more, we see you are quakers." Some others having demanded how they were known as such, were answered, "We know you

* New England's Ensigne (Lond. 1659), pp. 96, 97. Neal, vol. i. p. 343-345.

by your hats and your company." A party being indicted for having met and uttered blasphemies, they acknowledged meeting, but demanded proof of the blasphemy; to which Major-general Denison thought it enough to answer, "if ye meet together and say any thing, we may conclude that ye speak blasphemy."*

In spite of every exertion, the heresy spread, and seems to have absorbed many votaries of the previous sects. The watchful eye of the ministers soon observed the churches thinned, especially of their female auditors, and received the unwelcome explanation of a private meeting, held on the principles of the new teachers. Heavy fines were imposed on all who resorted thither, or who even absented themselves from the congregational assemblies; nay, on men who attended, but did not bring their wives along with them. Those who, in any way, harboured or encouraged quakers incurred similar penalties, by which many citizens are said to have been ruined. But the principal operations were against the prophets themselves, who incessantly poured in from Rhode Island, and were no sooner banished with every kind of ignominy, than they instantly reappeared. This was met by a series of punishments on an ascending scale, —imprisonment, whipping, confiscation, branding with hot iron, cutting off the ears. The following schedule of the number of times, during the year 1697, that each infliction was borne by several of the leading characters, gives a striking picture of indomitable perseverance, both in persecuting and enduring:—

	Imprisoned.	Banished.	Whipt.	Clothes sold.	Branded.	Ears cut off.
Dorothy Waugh,....	3	3	1	1	0	0
William Brand,.....	4	4	2	0	1	0
John Copeland,.....	7	7	3	0	0	1
Christopher Holden,	5	5	2	0	0	1 †

These severities, as their repetition implies, were wholly ineffectual for subduing the resolution of the

* Bishope, pp. 7, 8, 56. New England's Ensigne, p. 100.
† New England's Ensigne, p. 105.

sufferers, or driving them out of the colony. They had also the most inauspicious influence among the people, on whom the view of great things done and suffered acts more powerfully than the strongest arguments. Every sentence publicly executed produced, it is said, a fresh body of converts. The rulers, finding the heresy continually grow under the means employed to suppress it, instead of trying a milder course, resolved on the most extreme severities. There remained now no penalty untried but death; this was proposed in the general court, and, after much opposition, carried, though only by a single voice. The sentence, as already observed, was not for being quakers, but for returning from banishment, repeatedly, defyingly, and in a manner which precluded all hope of their not persevering. It was declared more desirable to have them absent and alive, than present and dead; but there was no option. Full warning was given. Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyar, being found in the colony, were banished, receiving due notice of the doom which they would incur by returning. Having, however, received a fresh message to deliver at Boston, they deliberately resolved "to look their bloody laws in the face," and lay down their lives for the testimony. A distinguished quakeress was moved to come, for the purpose of wrapping in linen the dead bodies of the martyrs; while several arrived from New York and other places to witness their death. "All these," says Bishope, "came in the moving and power of the Lord." They were speedily thrown into prison, and the professors brought to trial. Being asked for their defence, they declared that they acted in obedience to a divine call,—describing how it was made, and their obligation to obey it. Sentence was pronounced and inflicted upon Stevenson and Robinson, who endured it with unshaken fortitude. Mary Dyar, when on the ladder, was pardoned, and sent to Rhode Island, with a strict injunction not to return; but this being, as usual, disregarded, she, too, afterwards suffered. William Leddra,

being likewise found in the colony, was offered life on condition of promising not to return; but declaring, as usual, a total want of power to engage for himself, he was brought to the scaffold.*

These proceedings raised a general clamour, and many persons transmitted to England representations against them. Charles II., who did not want humanity, wrote to Endicott, the governor, ordering that all capital punishments on this ground should be stopped, and the accused sent home to be tried. The colonists, though not recognising the king's power to issue such mandates, did not choose to disobey.† They contrived, however, to inflict minor penalties and indignities, throwing the enthusiasts into prison, and whipping them out of the district. A fresh appeal made to Charles upon these subjects did not meet with any regard; but the representations of eminent ministers of their own persuasion, as well as the death of Wilson, Endicott, and Norton, who were succeeded by men breathing a more reasonable spirit, gradually induced a corresponding treatment. Quakerism, as already hinted, may be considered the extreme limit of the ultra-protestant movement. No other sect passed beyond it; on the contrary, the spirit of the age gradually turned itself to the exercise of reason, and the employment of learning upon religious subjects, even to the verge of indifference. The quakers and baptists themselves assumed a more sober character, renounced their extravagant pretensions, and, retaining a tempered zeal, became useful citizens and active philanthropists.

The people of Massachusetts had now a hard contest to maintain for their political existence. Having been forgotten during the civil wars, having evaded the claims of supremacy made by the long parliament, having received favour from Cromwell, they had acted almost completely as an independent republic. They were exceedingly anxious to continue so, and hence by

* Neal, vol. i. pp. 327, 328. Bishope, p. 89-92.
† Ibid. vol. i. p. 375-378.

no means shared the national joy at the Restoration. All their sympathies were on the other side. Whalley and Goffe, obliged to flee from England as accessary to the death of Charles I., were kindly received; and even after it was no longer possible to shelter them, their escape into the back settlements was favoured. The unwelcome intelligence was met, as long as possible, with an obstinate incredulity. When, at length, doubt could be no longer pretended, they drew up an address to the new monarch, which has even been reproached with sycophancy; yet they are silent on the fate of his father, the long parliament, and Cromwell; they do not even positively express joy at the Restoration, but simply allude to it as the "day wherein you happily say, you now know that you are again king over your British Israel." They derived encouragement from having "a king who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the hearts of exiles, who hath been himself an exile." It was not through discontent with the civil institutions, but for "liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel" that they had transported themselves, their wives and little ones "from that pleasant land into this vast and waste wilderness," where many, who had "come away in their strength, were now gray-headed, and some stooping for age." They declared themselves to have remained passive amid the late vicissitudes and overturnings of state; to be "true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change; zealous of government and order, orthodox, and peaceable in Israel." This address was presented, and graciously received. Yet Leverett, their agent, warned them, that they were in very bad odour with those royalist statesmen in whom the whole power was now vested, and that serious innovations might be dreaded. To avert these evils, they sent over Bradstreet (afterwards governor) and Norton, now the most eminent of the ministers. The envoys were received courteously, and on their departure obtained an answer, by which the king confirmed their charter, and granted pardon for political

offences to all who were not actually attainted. He demanded, in return, the repeal of all laws derogatory to his prerogative; in particular, that worship should be allowed according to the use of the church of England, and that freeholders otherwise qualified should not be excluded for their religious opinions. These demands, though moderate, and in some respects laudable, were extremely unwelcome, especially the last of them. Above all, they involved that right of internal interference which they were most anxious to resist; but they had still the consolation that the executive being in their hands, they could proceed at leisure. The king was proclaimed in full pomp; his name was inserted in the writs; other things for the present remained as before.*

The court and ministry of England, with Clarendon at their head, were disposed to treat the colony well, but by no means to exempt them from the obligations of subjects. Complaints, meanwhile poured in from episcopalians, quakers, and anabaptists, as also from Gorges and Mason respecting New Hampshire. Commissioners, therefore, being sent out to direct an expedition against New York, were instructed also to hear and determine complaints in causes military, civil, and criminal, within New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace of the country. This intelligence was received nearly as if it had been that of a foreign invasion. A fast was proclaimed; the patent was placed in trusty hands; and every possible precaution was taken to prevent troops from landing. When the expedition arrived, the general court was not sitting, on which ground the council evaded giving any immediate answer; and as the squadron soon sailed for New York, a respite was obtained.

That assembly being called without delay, took into serious consideration the present state of affairs. Soon after the Restoration they had prepared a declaration, claiming under the charter the appointment of the gov-

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 34-75. Neal, vol. i. p. 350. Chalmers, p. 264-268.

ernor and subordinate officers, and indeed the whole executive and legislative powers. Their allegiance was said to consist in upholding that colony as of right belonging to his majesty, and in "preserving his person and dominions." They now determined "to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." Ready, however, to testify their loyalty in any righteous way, they made active preparations to levy 200 men for the New York expedition, though, from its speedy success, their services were not wanted. The court, nevertheless, drew up a petition to the king, claiming the right of self-government as a royal donation under the great seal, "the greatest security that may be had in human affairs." They represented the commission as involving a demand "to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives." They concluded:—"Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, let the king live for ever." They endeavoured also to interest powerful individuals in England; but their best friends there seem to have been unprepared for so lofty a flight. Clarendon wrote, expressing wonder that they should thus violently complain of commissioners without having a single act to charge against them. Secretary Morrice, in the king's name, disclaimed any intention of interfering with their charter, but justified the commission as the only mode of examining into the numerous complaints.*

Still the colonial court, resolved not to yield, deterred the inhabitants by every possible means from any appeal to the commissioners. The latter, having soon succeeded in their first object at New York, proceeded to the more difficult task in Massachusetts. They began by demanding that the people of Boston should be assembled to hear the royal commission read; a motion which

* Chalmers, pp. 386, 387. Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

was entirely overruled by the local authorities. These last made a courteous statement, showing instances in which they had complied with the king's letter of 1662, and others in which they were willing to do so. The commissioners expressed their hope that these professions would now be borne out by "practical assertions of duty;" but whenever they attempted to exercise any of their functions, the strongest objections were started, till at length the general court was called upon directly to say whether or not they acknowledged the royal commission. This question was evaded, with such a reference to their charter as evidently showed how they really felt. The others then determined to bring matters to the test, by fixing a day to hear a complaint made to them against the colony. At this crisis the court took a very daring step. On the appointed morning, a herald by sound of trumpet proclaimed that no one at his peril should pay any regard to a summons pronounced to be unlawful. Upon this the envoys declared, that they had nothing more to do with men who, having openly defied the king's authority, could expect only the punishment of rebels.

It might have been apprehended that Charles would take some strong step to vindicate his power, thus daringly opposed. Yet, whether from good nature or reluctance to a contest with men who showed such strong determination, he recalled the commissioners, and merely required the colony to send deputies to defend their cause in Britain. After full deliberation, they thought it wisest to make the best excuses they could for non-compliance. They gave, however, all possible aid in the contest with France, sending a supply of masts for the royal navy, and of provisions for the West Indies. His majesty, distracted by foreign wars, internal factions, and his voluptuous pursuits, felt little inclined to enter into a struggle with the hardy sons of Massachusetts; and during the greater part of his reign they remained unmolested. They contrived even to evade the severe navigation law of 1663, by which all

the important branches of colonial commerce were required to pass through the mother country. They did not indeed openly repel the act, but having its execution in their own hands, they enforced it in such a manner as best suited their interests. The harbour of Boston was crowded with vessels from almost every part of Europe and America; and the colony now enjoyed a rapid career of prosperity.*

The English cabinet, however, looked on them with an evil eye, and after Charles had formed a close alliance with France, crushed popular factions, and filled his councils with stanch adherents of absolute power, a decisive change of measures was contemplated. Unfortunately it was supported by a large body in the nation, especially the mercantile class, who might have been expected to favour the planters, but who considered their interest bound up with the commercial monopoly. The first decision was given upon the long-contested claims of Mason to New Hampshire, and of Gorges to Maine. These were really good, according to the rules of colonial settlement; though Massachusetts, by power, proximity, and more especially by the favour of the people, had obtained full possession, and her object being to escape any decision, she declined to send deputies to appear for her in the English courts. At length the king sent a peremptory message by Randolph, whose repeated visits made the colonists view him as one "who went up and down seeking to devour them." He was instructed also to observe and inquire into the proceedings of the colony, with a view to such ulterior measures as might be deemed necessary.

The general court found it no longer possible to delay sending two agents; on whose arrival, the affairs of New Hampshire and Maine were brought before the judges, and speedily decided against them. They contrived indeed, for £1250, to purchase Maine from the representatives of Gorges; but the other country was

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 85-91. Chalmers, p. 400.

finally severed from their jurisdiction. The deputies, when examined on other charges, professed a total want of power, and when interrogated as private individuals before the committee of plantations, they placed their conduct in the best possible light. This body, however, were so ill satisfied, that they submitted several questions to the king's attorney and solicitor, with a view to the abrogation of the charter. These officers reported, that the deed was originally good, and had not been forfeited by the proceedings in 1635; but that, if the misdemeanours now alleged were proved, it could be voided by a *quo warranto*. The committee did not recommend this measure, but rather that the whole matter should be "severely searched to the very root;" and Charles intimated that he would not destroy the charter, though he had resolved to reduce them "to a more palpable dependence on his crown." The agents were therefore desired to obtain power to agree to a new patent.*

On receiving this alarming notice, the general court took every step short of compliance to avert the blow. They declared high treason capital, enforced the oath of allegiance, and caused the royal arms to be hung up in their hall. They privately intimated to their agents that they considered the Navigation Act "an invasion of their rights and privileges;" but instructed them merely to represent the small extent in which they had been violated. They sent addresses in the usual strain of respect, and Charles was so far soothed that he allowed the agents to depart, and postponed consideration of the intended charges. He took, however, a most unwelcome step in establishing a customhouse, and naming Randolph, their deadliest enemy, as collector. But this gentleman soon returned, stating that he could effect nothing for his majesty's service, as, in almost every action raised, he was condemned in costs, and his officers constantly thwarted. He was

* Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115, 123. Chalmers, p. 395-403.

sent back with a peremptory order for new agents with full powers; but he had the mortification to announce to his employers that there was no change in the treatment he received, and that the court, when asked if they owned his patent, had returned no answer.

Charles, more and more governed by despotic maxims, determined now on vigorous measures. He wrote a long letter, setting forth all the misdeeds of the colony since his accession, and intimating that, unless persons were forthwith sent, empowered to agree to a change, he would next Trinity term direct a *quo warranto*. In this extremity, though some advised resistance, more moderate counsels prevailed; Dudley and Richards were sent over without the required powers, but with instructions to conciliate and to deprecate the intended severity. They might even offer £2000 for the king's private use; but this was intercepted by the firmness of the minister. On their being found unprovided with authority, notice was given to them that it must be immediately procured, or the action would forthwith proceed. The deputies then wrote, advising a compromise, by which something might be retained. The governor and assistants inclined to the same opinion; but the general court, after a fortnight's solemn consultation with the ministers and people, decided, that their liberties were a sacred gift, and it was better to die by the hands of others than by their own. It was remarked by them that even in a prudential view the English corporations had gained nothing by submission: they therefore decided that "the deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills." All attempts to soften the government were then fruitless. The suit was commenced, and in Trinity term 1684 sentence was given, cancelling the charter of Massachusetts.*

The colony do not seem to have contemplated any resistance, but awaited in gloomy silence the absolute governor who was to be imposed upon them. They

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 123-127. Chalmers, p. 413-415.

were struck with horror by the announcement of Kirke, afterwards noted for his bloody career in the Monmouth rebellion. They were delivered from him, and had a short breathing-time in consequence of the death of Charles II. Amid the occupations of a new reign, no step was taken till 1686, when the government was conferred on Dudley, one of their own deputies, odious for having advised submission, yet welcome compared to the other. He arrived in May, the general court was immediately dissolved, and the administration vested in him as president, and a council named by the crown. His rule was mild, and affairs, on the whole, went on nearly as before. James, however, learned that there was still too much of the old leaven, and formed the design of uniting all the colonies under one government. Sir Edmund Andros arrived in December 1686, with two companies of troops, instructed to put an end to all popular power, but otherwise to rule with equity. The whole aspect of the colony was then changed. Instead of the sober and pious manners observed by the rulers, a gay, licentious, and profane conduct became at least no bar to the highest offices. An episcopal chapel was opened, and attended by the governor and his officers; assessments were no longer allowed for churches or schools. Toleration, extended to all sects, was an important improvement; yet such was the hostility shown to the reigning one, that an alarm arose lest it should be excluded. The taxes being found insufficient for the increased expenditure, James gave orders that they should be raised to its level. But this "ill mode of raising money without assembly" excited a passive resistance, met by confiscations and fines, which, as they enriched the hungry adherents of the government, soon became the favourite penalty. It was but "seizing and imprisoning the best men in the country, and the greedy officers would hereby have grist to their mill." In vain they appealed to English laws; they were told not to expect these to follow them to the end of the world; when they spoke of their town-

ship rights, they were reminded that there was no such thing as a town, and that all their local jurisdictions were swept away. Soon the enormous pretension was advanced that the lands, having all been granted under the patent, were forfeited along with it, and reverted to the king. This went to "make all men's titles null and void," and in fact to place nearly the whole colonial property under confiscation. The settlers being called on for their titles, stated first the original charter to Adam and Noah, supported by actual possession; this was derided. They then produced deeds of purchase from the Indians, to which the marks of chiefs were affixed. They were desired not to mention these brutes; they might as well show "the scratches of a bear's paw." They then urged, with much reason, the heavy expense and labour by which they had "conquered the wilderness," and given to it almost its whole value, and the hardship that a body of strangers should come and inherit every thing. A large tract which the town of Lynn had purchased from the Indians and enclosed as a common, was solicited by Randolph, and all their pleas treated with contempt. A plot of ground, purchased at Boston, being similarly grasped at, the proprietors, in attempting to resist, were asked if they would "stand suit with the king," being warned "they might thus lose all they had and something else too." We suspect there was more of bluster than of actual spoliation; for in none of the cases is it stated that Andros proceeded to the extremity of seizing property. Money being the object, it was intimated that new patents would be granted on paying the fees, which however amounted to about a fourth of the value. Some were intimidated into this step; but it was reckoned that there was not funds in the colony to have thus repurchased the whole. In this extremity, Increase Mather, escaping by night and in disguise, reached England, and laid the grievances of the colony before James. All petitions for a representative government were peremptorily rejected; but there appears a minute of council, that the colonists

should hold their lands according to their ancient records. But James was now on the eve of his fate. Having disgusted all parties by his rash and tyrannical conduct, he could not withstand the invasion of William, and was obliged to abdicate the throne, and leave room for the revolution which has secured British liberty. As soon as this intelligence reached Massachusetts, the people rose in arms with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people. Sir Edmund Andros and his adherents were imprisoned; the charter was again put in force; a governor, assistant, and deputies were elected. On receiving a letter from William, desiring them to continue the government in his name, till he should send more particular direction, the two sovereigns were proclaimed at Boston on the 29th May 1689.*

The king, whose liberality was rather of position than of character, by no means fully answered their expectations. Treby and Somers, the great whig lawyers, reported that the decision against the charter had been valid; and hence the conduct of Andros and his officers legal. William was so far from punishing that governor, that he received him into favour, and appointed him to Virginia. It was even understood that he suspected the loyalty of Massachusetts; and doubts were spread whether he would renew the charter at all. It required, in fact, three years' solicitation by the agents and friends of the colony, generously aided by the queen, before they could obtain one, which, in point of fact, materially abridged their former independence. The king assumed the nomination of the governor, the judges, and the military officers, as well as a veto within three years on their acts, and a negative on the council named by them.

* Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 430, 431. Chalmers, pp. 421-424, 429-431. The Revolt in New England justified, by Joseph Bunning, in Boston, 1691, pp. 7, 8, 12, 14, 18, 21, 22, 35. Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmund Andros and Complices, by several Gentlemen who were of his Council, 1691, pp. 5, 7, 8, 9. These two contemporary tracts, from which our narrative is chiefly drawn, do not appear to have been known to former historians.

Though by no means fully satisfied, they thought it best, under all the circumstances of the case, to make no complaint. In truth, they had obtained privileges still more ample than those of any other British subjects.*

Having brought the affairs of the colonists to this satisfactory point, we must look back to some transactions which have been reserved for the purpose of giving a connected narrative; the most important being their relations with the Indian tribes. These were not so satisfactory as the character of the settlers might have led us to hope, especially as compared with the quakers in Pennsylvania. Great difficulty has been found in tracing the causes of this difference. It was, indeed, somewhat alarming to find Increase Mather, in the first sentence of his narrative, speak of "the heathen people, whose land the Lord God of our fathers hath given to us for a rightful possession," and representing it even as a contest similar to that of the Jews with the Canaanites, without reference to the divine commission granted to the former. Yet he quotes and confirms the assertion of Winslow, that the English did not possess a foot of land except by honest purchase from the Indians; and that as they would thoughtlessly have sold all, the court had directed special tracts to be reserved for their use. Admitting heavy charges to exist, he declares that the government was innocent, and the fault confined to the districts where the war began. In fact, it seems to have arisen in Connecticut and other backwood settlements, where a lawless spirit, too common in such situations, prevailed. Mather mentions persons who had grown up without even hearing the name of Christ; and a sober citizen of Boston, who had joined the frontier troops, was so horrified at their profanity, that he went deranged, exclaiming that "God could not be with this army."† Almost from the first establishment of Connecticut, mutual wrongs had created an animosity between

* Neal, vol. ii. p. 104-107, 258, &c.

† Mather (Increase), Brief History of Wars with the Indians (4to, London, 1676), p. 1-4.

the settlers and the Pequods, the most powerful of all the tribes, who sought, by an alliance with their enemies, the Narragansets, to form a general league against them. This scheme had nearly succeeded, when it was frustrated by the generous exertions of Williams. The English at first were taken by surprise, had several small detachments cut off, and were so closely hemmed in, that they could not go to their work or even to church without a strong escort. Captains Mason and Underhill, however, having come up with seventy men, determined to attack their main fort, surrounded by a palisade of strong trees, but so loosely put together that musketry could penetrate it. The assailants having forced an entrance, set fire to the camp, which was soon reduced to ashes, and above 300 Indians, men, women, and children, perished in the ruins. The English, whose loss was trifling, pursued the remnant of the tribe from place to place, till the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. Forty who had sought refuge among the Mohawks, were given up by these savages, and the few others who remained alive surrendered in despair.*

After the terror inspired by this dreadful overthrow, tranquillity continued nearly forty years. The Massachusetts government maintained friendly relations with the Indians, allowing them even when unconverted to settle within its jurisdiction. The conditions required, as stated by Winthrop,† with their answers, are somewhat curious :—They were not to blaspheme, but to revere the true God.—Ans. They would always desire to speak reverentially of the Englishmen's God, who did so much better for them than other gods did for their worshippers. They should not work on the Sabbath.—Ans. They worked so little any day, that they need not object to this article. They should not swear falsely.—Ans. They never swore at all. They should not permit murder, lying, or other crimes. Ans. All these they

* A True Relation of the late Battell fought in New England. Lond. 1638. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 431-434.

† Journal, p. 297.

condemned already. A number of them, as will be afterwards observed, were even converted to Christianity. A disposition arose to imitate the English, and even to assume their names; those of Philip, Stonewall John, and Sagamore Sam, were borne by powerful chiefs.

As the colonists multiplied, and the circle of settlement extended, the natives could not but feel for how paltry a price they had sold their once spacious birthright. The enlarged frontier afforded new occasions of dispute; and the Indians, when wronged, instead of appealing to the general court, took vengeance with their own hands. When charged with offences, they were tried according to the rigour of English law,—a treatment altogether foreign to their ideas. Mr Bancroft thinks there was no general confederacy, nor even any deliberate purpose of commencing hostilities. A member of one of the tribes, having given information against certain of his countrymen, fell a victim to their resentment; but the murderers were condemned to death by a jury, of whom half were Indians. In revenge, a small party of English were surprised and slain; and immediately war broke out along the whole border.

The Indians were now much more formidable than in the first contest. During the long interval they had eagerly sought to procure the superior arms wielded by Europeans; and commercial avidity had supplied them. They had attained no discipline, and could not contend in the open field; but the English soon learned to dread an enemy whose habitations, says Mather, "were the dark places of the earth;" who, at moments the most unexpected, rushing from the depth of forests, surrounded and overwhelmed them. The war began with the burning of frontier villages, and the slaughter of detached parties. Beers, one of the bravest captains, was surprised and killed with twenty of his followers. Then came a more "black and fatal day." Lothrop commanded with reputation a body of fine young men, the flower of the county of Essex, who, having piled their arms on wagons, were securely reposing and

plucking grapes when the alarm was given. After a desperate resistance they were cut off, only a mere handful escaping. This was followed by the "Springfield misery." That village, the most important on the boundary, was broken into, and every building reduced to ashes, except a large one, which, being slightly fortified, supplied a refuge to the inhabitants. Others soon shared the same fate, in circumstances still more tragical. A boast was at first made that no place with a church had been sacked, but this was soon belied; and the Indians, according to ideas prevalent among savages, considered themselves at war at once with the English and with their gods. In a captured village, their first step was to reduce the meeting-house to ashes; and in torturing their captives, they derided the objects of their worship, for the want of power to save them. After killing the men, they carried away the women and children; and, though the honour of the former was not threatened, they were treated with dreadful cruelty. For example, they were compelled to follow rapid marches, which at this time were frequent, and when found unequal to the effort, were killed at once by blows on the head.

The colonists were doubly perplexed and dismayed by these disasters. Imbued with a belief, beyond what the usual course of providence justifies, that every calamity was a judgment for some great iniquity, they anxiously sought why "the Lord no longer went forth with their armies." Mather quotes a letter from a leading man in the camp, imputing it to the luxury which wealth had produced among the citizens of Boston,—"their intolerable pride in clothes and hair," and the multiplication of taverns. The neglect of religion and of its ministers was of course blamed; unfortunately, too, the increase of schism and even the slender toleration which had begun to be granted. Days of fasting were appointed; but they were astounded when one of the most solemn was followed by the catastrophe of Lothrop, from which they drew the salutary inference that "praying without reforming would not

do." These views did not prevent them from using regular means of warfare, of which the attack of the fortified villages was found the most effective. In the midst of winter, 1000 men marched against the main-hold of the Narragansets. They rushed to the onset; and after a dreadful conflict it was carried, and reduced to ashes,—the Indians perishing in vast numbers. But the colonists, appalled by their own loss of 300 killed and wounded, including their six bravest leaders, retreated in great confusion: the enemy, however, were overwhelmed by their disaster, which they never fully recovered. In spring, indeed, they resumed their wonted warfare, but with diminished means and spirit; and in May, another of their principal settlements was destroyed. Driven from their cultivated spots, and finding shelter only in woods and marshes, they suffered increasing hardships and privations. Discontent and disunion were the consequence; several of the tribes began to make their submission, when pardon was granted. Two hundred laid down their arms at Plymouth; and Sagamore John came in with 180, bringing also Matoonas, accused as the author of this dreadful war. In the course of it, had been formed skilful officers, particularly Captain Church, who displayed singular talents in this desultory contest. In August he came up with Philip himself, who was completely routed, and fled almost alone. Hunted from place to place, he was traced to the centre of a morass, where he was betrayed and shot by one of his own people. The spirit of the Indians then entirely sunk; and all who survived either emigrated to a distance, or submitted without reserve to the English power.*

There was, however, a wider and ruder frontier, behind New Hampshire and Maine, where the settlers carried on a fur-trade with the natives, who complained of fraud and other wrongs, which do not appear imaginary. Though thereby impelled to deeds of violence, they waged

* Mather's Indian Wars, *passim*. Bancroft.

no general war, till roused by the example of Massachusetts, when the flame spread along a line of 300 miles. The colonists, located in a number of small detached stations, suffered severely, and though they gained important advantages, were glad, through Mugg, a ferocious leader, to conclude a treaty granting to them payments of rent, or rather of tribute. A long peace followed, during which those plantations continued greatly to prosper; but in 1687 the Indians, instigated by the French, recommenced hostilities still more violently than ever. Andros, who endeavoured to conciliate this fierce race, treating the prisoners kindly and dismissing them without ransom, was censured by the colonists, who accused him, seemingly without any reason, of supplying them with arms. Failing in his pacific views, he took the field in the depth of winter, but unable to find the enemy, merely erected two forts to cover the frontier. The war, however, continued to rage ten years, and the natives, being aided and in some degree disciplined by the French, gained many advantages. The bravest action was at Wells, where Captain Conyers, with fifteen men, repulsed with great slaughter an attack made by 500 Indians. Sir William Phipps erected in the heart of their country the strong fort of Penmaquid; and some other triumphs being gained over them, led to a peace in 1693 on satisfactory terms.*

Our attention is now drawn to a more pleasing subject. The European nations in general had professed a zeal to communicate the light of the gospel to the darkened minds of the natives. The Roman catholics certainly made considerable exertions, with at least an appearance of success; but they were too easily satisfied with a mere profession and the rite of baptism. The New England ministers applied to this task with a deep sense of its importance, and a desire to produce an effective change. In 1646, the general court passed an act recommending missionary labours, which was zealously responded to by Mr

* Neal, vol. ii. pp. 24-29, 53-57, 117-123.

Eliot, who justly obtained the title of the Indian apostle, as well as by Mr Mayhew and other zealous individuals. A serious difficulty was found in the language, which was full of uncouth sounds, and words of such an enormous length that, according to Mather, they appeared to have been growing ever since Babel, and sometimes required from twenty to thirty of our letters to express them. This obstacle was overcome; and the natives were found to listen with interest to sermons, which, being judiciously made short, were followed by the much-prized privilege of asking questions. Some indeed, of those put were irrelevant, and even puzzling,—as, why the English should know so much more of divine things than themselves; how their God should understand prayers in the Indian language; why river water was fresh and that of the sea salt; and why the ocean did not rise and overflow the earth. Answers were returned carefully adapted to their conceptions; and a considerable body of converts was gradually formed. They were collected by their affectionate pastors into little townships, where being taught to build more commodious houses, and practise some useful arts, they were soon better lodged and accommodated than their most powerful sachems. They were persuaded to enact penalties, not only against violence and heinous sins, but against their usual rude and uncouth habits. Fines were imposed for killing noisome insects between the teeth, for besmearing the body with grease, and for indulging in their usual wild and frightful howlings. Women were no longer to go about with their hair hanging loose, and bosom uncovered, while in return they were protected from the tyrannical treatment too often inflicted on them; every man who beat his wife had his hands tied behind his back, and suffered an arbitrary punishment. In 1674, it was found that fourteen villages had been thus formed, estimated to contain about 1100 converts. These indeed were chiefly confined to districts in the vicinity of Boston.*

* Neal, vol. i. p. 243-248.

The missionaries were not long in perceiving that powerful obstacles opposed their progress, rendering it difficult even to preserve the ground they had gained. The natives were under the spiritual sway of certain personages named the powaws, who not only instilled rude religious notions, but cured their diseases, taught them the lucky modes and times of doing things, and were their resource in every emergency. By these august personages the most dire anathema was pronounced on those who obeyed the priests and gods of a foreign people. Not only would all their service and aid be withheld; but sickness, suffering, and even death might be dreaded from their magical influence. It is true, the cures effected by the English after the powaws had howled, leaped, danced, and blown upon the patients in vain, lowered materially the power of their savage divinities. Still they did not doubt of their existence, and were scarcely undeceived by their new teachers, who themselves believed that the native priests derived from an unhallowed source some supernatural powers. It was considered, therefore, unhandsome and un-Indian to change the gods of their fathers, even for a mightier deity. They incurred all the penalties of loss of caste, being thrown out from among their countrymen and associates, their lives threatened, and sometimes even forfeited. The sachems, who possessed no small influence, considered their authority as identified with that of the powaws, and viewed the change of worship and manners as a species of rebellion. The ministers too, in avoiding the lax modes of Romish conversion, went perhaps to the opposite extreme, admitting to communion those only who were judged fully to understand and be under the influence of true religion; so that of the whole number of professing Indians, not a hundred enjoyed full church privileges. It being difficult to procure qualified preachers among the settlers, the great object was to form an Indian ministry, with which view Dartmouth college, on a small scale, was founded. The savage pupils applied themselves at first with zeal and

success; indeed Hiaccomes, a young native chief, had made himself eminent as a teacher, and procured many converts. A great proportion, however, soon tired, and being attracted by their friends and their old roving habits, betook themselves again to the woods. Even these limited prospects were much darkened by the long war which, as already observed, was to a great extent an antichristian conflict; the chiefs, and particularly Philip, being imbued with the most imbittered enmity against the European religion. They viewed with peculiar enmity their converted countrymen, and eagerly strove to root out their settlements. So fatal was the consequence, that in 1684 the number of churches was reduced to four; yet so active was the zeal of Eliot, then upwards of eighty, that in three years they were as numerous as ever.*

When Massachusetts had overcome some of its greatest evils, and seemed approaching to a tranquil state, a scene opened peculiarly painful, yet which, as a striking though dark chapter in the history of human nature, cannot here be omitted. The belief in witches, —wicked beings endued with supernatural power by the great enemy of mankind,—was at one time general throughout Europe, and gave way very slowly before the progress of light and civilisation. James I. placed much of his learned pride in the skill with which he traced the signs of a witch, and he followed up his discovery by the most inhuman persecutions against these unhappy persons. The puritans and presbyterians, however opposite in other matters, were not in this respect much wiser; hence the New Englanders went out with this belief, which still prevailed among the most learned of their countrymen. Their very situation tended to produce solemn and awful impressions. "They had an ocean a thousand leagues in extent between them and all the delights of life they had once enjoyed. As soon as it was dark their ears were filled with the

* Neal, vol. i. pp. 252, 263.

roaring of wolves and other savage beasts, or, what was worse, the yells of savage men." Detached cases had from time to time occurred exciting horror and alarm. But unfortunately for the reputation of the colonists, the delusion which had been almost entirely banished from the mother-country took full possession of them, and produced the most appalling results.

Mr Paris, minister of Salem, had a daughter and a niece, nine and eleven years of age respectively, who were affected with symptoms which, consisting of a sense of choking, and as if pins were stuck into the skin, accompanied with inability to speak, and contortions of the limbs, appear to be evidently those of hysteria. The physicians were unable to suggest any adequate remedy, and one of them at last declared that his patients were "under an evil hand." It being then desirable to discover the hidden and magical cause of the malady, Tituba, an Indian domestic, fell under suspicion, and, by beating and other hard usage, was driven to confess her guilt; after which, the children imagined that even in her absence they saw her image or spectre pinching and pricking them. She was then induced to name several accomplices, against whom proceedings were immediately commenced. The indictments were drawn up in the most regular form, charging the pannels with afflicting, tormenting, wasting, and consuming others, "against the peace of our sovereign lord and lady the king and queen, and against the form of the statute in that case made and provided." Several crazy women accused Mr Burroughs, a very respectable clergyman, who, too wise for his age, disputed altogether the existence of witchcraft, a defence which was at once rejected, and sentence of death pronounced upon him. The cases became so numerous, that the prisons of Salem could no longer contain the crowds of suspected persons, who being sent to other towns, carried the evil along with them. A deep awe fell upon the colony at "this sudden descent of wicked spirits from their high places." An association of some principal people was formed to meet

"this dreadful assault from hell;" and a solemn fast appointed, that the Lord might be induced "to rebuke Satan, and show light to his people in this day of darkness." Following up these views, a series of trials commenced, in which death was relentlessly awarded as the punishment of all found guilty under this most fearful charge.*

In the proceedings which ensued nothing appears more extraordinary than the confessions. The accused related the diabolical meetings at which they had been present, the plans formed for establishing the supremacy of Satan, the wounds whence the blood had been drawn wherewith they signed the fatal deed making over their souls to him. The poles on which they rode through the air, the images, by pricking and pinching of which corresponding sufferings were brought on the objects of their enmity, were also exhibited. Doubtless these might sometimes be wild and insane delusions; yet the narrative lays open a deeper and less excusable motive. Death was inflicted only on obstinate and hardened offenders who refused to confess their guilt, while the confessors had a respite, and in no case were ultimately brought to the scaffold. But it is lamentable to add, that they were called upon to bear witness against supposed accomplices, and became instruments in taking their lives. A narrative, afterwards drawn up by six of those women, gives, though in rude language, a striking picture of the impulses by which they were driven to this guilty step:—"We were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, they being in their fits, and falling into these fits at our coming into their presence, and then they said that we were guilty of afflicting them; whereupon we were all seized as prisoners;—we were exceedingly astonished and amazed, and consternated and affrighted out of our reason; and our dearest relations seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, they, out of tender love and pity, per-

* Neal, vol. ii. p. 124. Mather, b. ii. p. 60; b. vi. p. 79.

suaded us to confess what we did confess, and indeed that confession was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it; which made us think that we were so, and our understanding, and our reason, and our faculties being almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition;—we said any thing and every thing they desired, and most of what we said was in fact but a consenting to what they said." There soon appeared in many a disposition to retract confessions thus extorted; but this was treated as a relapse into guilt. Samuel Wardwell, who first decidedly took this step, was condemned to death; and his fate was ever after sounded in the ears of those who at all wavered. It is also too true that many advanced these charges in a cool and deliberate manner, supporting them by alleged facts which were found utterly false. Personal enmity and the importance derived with the public from their influential position seem to have formed the criminal impulse. On the other hand, the denials by the accused, however solemn, natural, and affecting, were wholly disregarded. Mary Easty says:—"I was confined before a whole month on the same account that I am now condemned for. The Lord above knew my innocence then, and likewise does now, as at the great day will be known to men and angels. I petition your honours, not for my own life, for I know I must die and my appointed time is set; but if it be possible, that no more innocent blood may be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go on.—They say myself and others have made a league with the devil: we cannot confess; the Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that as I shall answer it at the tribunal seat, I know not the least thing of witchcraft; therefore I cannot, I durst not, belie my own soul."*

The colony, through its own unhappy delusion, soon

* Neal, vol. ii. pp. 142-148; 160-162.

brought itself into a truly dreadful condition. Nineteen had suffered death; eight more were under sentence; a hundred and fifty were in prison; and fresh crowds were continually thrust in. The charges began to be brought against persons of the first consequence; no man's character, property, or life were for a moment secure; and even those who had been the most active in the prosecutions learned with horror that their own spectres were beginning to walk abroad, committing actions that would bring them to a fatal end. There now spread through all classes a conviction that somehow or other they had gone too far, and were under the influence of some deep delusion; yet it appeared extremely difficult to discover where the error lay. All the proceedings had been according to the strictest forms of English law, and the most approved codes of demonology. There appeared no ground on which they could be invalidated, unless by denying altogether the existence of witchcraft, a doctrine represented at once as profane, and as belying the experience of all ages and nations. However the governor called a meeting of the ministers, and submitted to them whether a man could justly be made responsible and even put to death for actions which were not even alleged to be committed by himself, but only by his image or spectre. On due deliberation, it was decided, not that these were wild and chimerical illusions, but that Satan had the power to assume such shapes, and commit such actions, without the concurrence or even knowledge of the persons whose forms he represented. Still there remained a wide range of offence, which they recommended should be proceeded against "according to the wholesome statutes of the English nation." The tide, however, had set in strongly on the other side. Of fifty-six cases presented at the ensuing sessions, thirty were ignored by the grand jury, and of the remainder only three were condemned. But the governor now, with the general concurrence of the colony, threw open the prison-doors, and put a full stop to all further prosecutions. An alarm was raised

by some as to the dreadful consequences to be apprehended when Satan was thus left to carry on his operations at full liberty; but the actual result proved, that when the complaints of the afflicted were no longer listened to, they entirely ceased, and that the confessors "fell off from their confession," owning it as false, or denying having ever made it. Twelve men, who had most frequently sat on juries, published a paper, declaring that they were much disquieted in their minds, fearing that they had been sadly deluded, and had done such things as they would not do again for the whole world. One of the judges desired a declaration to the same effect to be read to the congregation, standing up in their presence during the whole time. Mr Paris also expressed deep contrition for the innocent blood he had been instrumental in shedding; yet the people could never lose the memory of it, and he was obliged to leave Salem.*

Massachusetts from this time to the peace of 1763, enjoyed, like the other colonies, a course of prosperity, chequered only by some internal agitations. She took a very active part in the military operations of successive wars waged against the French colonies and their Indian allies. As these, however, were in a great degree common to all the states, we shall reserve them, with other general subjects, for a special chapter.

Lord Bellamont, who went out as governor in 1699, was extremely popular; and it was to the great regret of the people, that after fourteen months he was transferred to New York. They were little pleased at his being succeeded by Dudley, a man of talent, and a native of the state, where he had many friends; but the body of the people remembered that he had advised the resignation of the charter, and subsequently acted as the first absolute ruler under the king. During the whole twelve years of his administration, perpetual contests on petty subjects were waged between the two parties, and he rendered himself doubly odious by the

* Neal, pp. 156, 157, 165-170. Mather, b. vi. p. 82.

expression of a wish that the colony were again utterly disfranchised.

On the accession of the house of Hanover, the settlers hoped for a more decidedly whig system; and, in fact, after some manœuvring, they obtained for governor Colonel Shute, who was at first very acceptable. But they were soon amazed to learn that a bill had been brought in for the entire abrogation of their charter, and it was only by very strong remonstrances that ministers were induced to withdraw it. Shute, too, though of mild manners, became attached to the high prerogative party, and advanced various claims scarcely warranted by the constitution, particularly that of negativing the choice of the speaker of assembly. After many dissensions, the affair was referred to the government at home, by whom all his pretensions were sanctioned, and the local authorities were obliged to consent to an explanatory charter, embracing the views of the governor and other regulations not less offensive. Hence it was in vain that he pressed for a fixed and liberal salary to himself; they gratified their resentment by diminishing it, without regard to the depreciation of the currency.

In 1727, he was succeeded by Burnet, a very accomplished person, and who, at New York, had made himself extremely acceptable. Under him, however, the question of income came to a crisis. The assembly, much mortified by having, under the charter of William, been deprived of the choice of a governor, endeavoured to keep him still under their influence by granting his salary only from year to year, and varying its amount according as he had given satisfaction. This arrangement was very disagreeable to him, and still more to the ministry at home, against whose power it was directly levelled. Burnet, relying on their support, pressed with great vehemence for the desired arrangement; but it was strenuously resisted, and the controversy was suspended by his death in 1729. The cabinet then sent out Belcher, who had formerly acted as their agent, but with distinct instructions to insist on this point, which, it was hoped, his great

popularity might gain. He does not, however, seem to have entered on the undertaking very heartily, and when the assembly passed a liberal vote, he obtained permission to accept it. Though still ordered to press the general measure, he seems to have concerned himself very little about the matter, and thus the assembly, by dogged perseverance, finally gained this important object. They had remarked, that in these long controversies, ministers uniformly sought to overawe them by threatening to lay their conduct before the British legislature. Yet this menace having never been executed, they were led to suspect that body to be more favourable to them than the court represented. At all events they felt themselves encouraged to transmit a petition, desiring to have the direction and control of all public monies; and hence their surprise and indignation were extreme when they learned that a vote had been passed pronouncing it to be "frivolous and groundless, an high insult upon his majesty's government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony upon this kingdom, to which by law and right they are and ought to be subject."

In 1740, Belcher fell into unjust suspicion with the ministry, and was removed; but on his innocence being ascertained, he was compensated some years after with the government of New Jersey. He was succeeded by Shirley, who espoused somewhat the cause of prerogative; yet by moderation and great kindness towards the opposite party, he retained a large share of their goodwill. This was heightened by his zealous promotion of the military operations against Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, which were carried on chiefly from Massachusetts, and crowned with signal success. Pownall, who was appointed in 1757, showed some preference for the popular party, though without alienating their antagonists; and his reputation was aided by certain warlike exploits in which he had some share. Bernard, who took his place in 1760, belongs to the period of revolutionary trouble.

We shall now conclude with a rapid sketch of the other colonies of New England, which mostly sprung from Massachusetts, but do not in their history present the same striking events.

CONNECTICUT was an early shoot from that settlement. Some knowledge of the fertile banks of the river so named, and a spirit of restless enterprise, soon excited a strong desire to people this new region, though there was still ample space in the original colony. This project was at first discouraged by the ruling authorities; but in 1635 and 1636, two successive parties migrated to that quarter, accompanied by Mr Hooker, who, next to Cotton, was reckoned the light of the western churches. They drove their cattle before them, through the thick entangled woods, sleeping under the canopy of heaven, and suffering many severe hardships. These they encountered with characteristic firmness; and reaching the desired spot, founded Hartford, Springfield, and other small villages. In 1637, Eaton and Davenport, with some strict puritans, settled Newhaven, which for a considerable time held itself independent of Connecticut, as well as of Massachusetts. All these arrangements had been made without any concert with the proprietors in England, Lords Brooke, and Saye and Sele, who had obtained the land by assignment from the original company. The colony, however, in 1644, succeeded in purchasing the rights of those noblemen; a transaction, the legality of which, though doubted, appears never to have been contested. The Dutch also, from Manhattan, claimed the territory, and had a fortified station at the mouth of the river; but the English treated their pretensions as altogether unfounded, and if they did not attack them, were prepared to resist any attempt to dislodge their own settlers.*

The colony, in its very infancy, suffered inconvenience from the war against the Pequod Indians, the events of which we have already noticed. After a severe contest,

* Chalmers, p. 286-292. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 427.

they completely triumphed, and earned the blessing of a long peace. Both settlements from this time continued in a state of gradual progress. In 1643 they were combined with Massachusetts and Plymouth, into "the united colonies of New England," chiefly with a view to defence against the Dutch, French, and Indians; an arrangement which did not interfere with the freedom of their internal government. On the restoration of Charles II., while Massachusetts kept somewhat aloof, Winthrop hastened to England with congratulations. By his own address, combined with the influence of Lord Saye and Sele and other noblemen, he obtained a charter of the most liberal character, constituting, indeed, an independent democracy. The assembly of deputies had the choice of their governor and assistants; they enacted all laws, could establish courts of justice, levy and employ troops; in short, exercise all the functions of government, with only the vague limitation, that their laws should not be contrary to those of the mother country. They imagined, too, that their coast extended westward as far as the Pacific. Newhaven at first proudly refused to merge her independence, even in this privileged state; but the address of the younger Winthrop, and the dread of the commission sent out by Charles II. to regulate the colonies, soon induced her to acquiesce. That gentleman, who was elected governor, showed that, to great talents as a man of the world and a scholar, he united pure patriotism, devoting himself entirely to the welfare of the colony. The intolerance which produced so great evils in Massachusetts, seems never to have prevailed here. In 1680, the train-bands, composed of the males from sixteen to sixty, amounted to 2500, inferring a population of at least 10,000. These were divided among twenty-six towns, which could soon boast of twenty-one churches. There were only about thirty slaves; paupers were few; neither beggars nor vagabonds were permitted. The trade, chiefly with Boston and New York, was carried on by twenty petty merchants in twenty-four small vessels; and the imports

did not exceed the value of £9000. The property of the whole corporation was reckoned at about £110,000.*

On the accession of James II., Connecticut sent an address of congratulation, which was well received; but that arbitrary prince, who had determined to cancel all the American charters, was not likely to spare one so foreign to his taste and views. Three successive writs of *quo warranto* were issued; and the colonists, after craving successive delays, and seeing that the blow could not be warded off, determined to yield. Colonel Treat, the governor, wrote to the secretary of state, making the strongest professions of loyalty, yet with a wish to continue as they were, if consistent with his majesty's princely wisdom; but, if otherwise, submitting to his royal commands, and only requesting to be joined to the united colonies under Andros, rather than to any other. Randolph, the relentless enemy of American liberty, urged that this was not enough, and that nothing less than the entire forfeiture of the charter could finally crush their pretensions. James, however, sincerely gratified by the courteous submission of the people, sent orders to Andros to accept it. Assuming the administration, he at the same time demanded the deed; but it was carefully concealed in the hollow of an aged elm, which still stands, the object of public veneration. On the accession of William, the charter, having neither been resigned nor any judicial decision obtained against it, was not considered by legal authorities as forfeited; and that monarch was not prepared to incur the odium of pressing the matter to a conclusion. Thus Connecticut, by timely yielding, retained entire those franchises of which Massachusetts lost a part by her unbending firmness.

RHODE ISLAND.—We have had occasion, in the annals of Massachusetts, to notice the foundation of this little state by Roger Williams. After fleeing from Salem, and

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 54-56. Chalmers, p. 292-296.

encountering many hardships, he reached a fertile spot at the head of a winding bay, which he named Providence. His friendship with the Indians, whose cause he had always espoused, enabled him without difficulty to procure for himself and a few followers of his adverse fortune a small territory. Here he proclaimed his laudable principle of general toleration; and, receiving with kindness all who sought refuge in his domain, made it the chief resort of the partisans of the movement. Its numerous votaries, thrown out by the rigid orthodoxy of Massachusetts, found here a hearty welcome. A certain motley character, especially in regard to creed and worship, was the necessary consequence. Yet, even in periods of the most rapid innovation, there appears a tendency to unity, caused by the newer and bolder sects absorbing those which preceded, and whose tenets had lost the gloss of novelty. The first great accession was from Mrs Hutchinson's party; and though their views seem to have had little resemblance to his, the two were quickly amalgamated. These refugees, possessing considerable property, made a large purchase from the Indians, which, combined with Providence, composed the state of Rhode Island. The baptist movement next followed, which Mrs Hutchinson and her sister so zealously embraced that they prevailed upon Williams himself, at an advanced age, to submit anew to the sacred rite. Even he, however, was struck with horror at the wild effusions of Gorton, and at seeing them propagated in his settlement with the usual success. Actuated by his characteristic mildness, however, he merely effected an arrangement by which that personage, with his fervid adherents, went out and formed another establishment. This was soon followed by the quaker excitement, which, in its greatest violence, he had sound judgment enough to repress; but as he allowed to its adherents a refuge denied every where else, Rhode Island soon became the point whence they issued forth to the neighbouring states, and upon which they returned. They experienced also the usual success of daring innovators, and, notwithstanding all

his efforts, soon became the ruling sect. Mrs Hutchinson was dead; but her sister, Katherine Scott, and her intimate friend Mrs Dyar, ranked high among the gifted prophetesses.*

From these causes, the colony silently grew, and in 1680 was reported to contain 500 planters and 500 other men, whence, as these last were apparently adults, we may infer an entire population of about 4000. Newport was the harbour; but as yet there was very little either of commerce or of shipping. The religious sects were of course numerous, especially the baptists and quakers. The settlement, however, had all along been viewed with an evil eye by the people of Massachusetts, who saw in it the chief pivot on which turned that enthusiastic movement by which they were so much annoyed. Its exclusion from the union of the colonies in 1643 marked strongly this spirit, and placed it in a somewhat precarious situation. Williams, however, who in 1644 came to Britain, where the independents were then in full power, and his friend Vane one of their chief leaders, easily obtained a popular charter for the towns of Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth, with a recommendation equivalent to an order, that New England should exchange good offices with him. On his return he was received with a species of triumph; and his still jealous neighbours were obliged to content themselves with shutting their state against him and his people. Again, after the Restoration, John Clarke, the agent of the colony, procured from Charles II. a fresh charter, securing all their privileges, and particularly confirming the right of religious freedom. That prince, however, in the end of his reign, and his successor, in a manner still more determined, applied themselves to cancel all the colonial charters. In July 1685, accordingly, a *quo warranto* was issued against that of Rhode Island, which, being announced to the assembly, they sent a very humble reply, declaring their intention not to stand suit

* Chalmers, pp. 270, 271. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 412. Neal, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

with his majesty, but earnestly soliciting a continuance of their privileges, especially in regard to their faith. James accepted their submission, and, by his instructions, Andros, in December 1686, dissolved the government, broke its seal, and assumed the entire administration. But after the Revolution, the people laid hold "of their former gracious privileges," and shared in this respect the good fortune of Connecticut. They were allowed to resume their charter, which had never been legally forfeited.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.—The extensive region between Massachusetts and the country claimed by France under the name of Acadia, having early drawn the notice of English adventurers, the two most active members of the Plymouth Company, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason, undertook to colonize it. The latter, secretary to the council, obtained, in 1621, a grant of the lands between Salem and the Merrimack; and next year, in conjunction with Gorges, of those between the last mentioned river and the Kennebeck, as far as the St. Lawrence. In 1629, and again in 1635, when the company was broken up, Mason acquired fresh patents for his portion, which then received the name of New Hampshire. In 1638, however, before the settlement had come to any maturity, he died, and his family were unable to derive any benefit from this vast donation. Sir Ferdinand, meantime, at the crisis of 1635, procured for himself exclusively the whole territory from New Hampshire to the Kennebeck, and this was confirmed in 1639 by a patent from the king, when it received the name of Maine.

These proprietors appear to have set great value on their grants, and to have made active exertions to improve them. Dover and Portsmouth were early founded on the Piscataqua; and in 1635, Gorges sent out his nephew to govern the district. Yet their settlements

* Chalmers, p. 272-281. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 450; vol. ii. p. 460.

made very slow progress. Being high church and monarchy men, they granted none of those franchises by which alone emigrants could be attracted to this northern soil; while to the aristocratic class, Virginia offered a much more tempting resort. Only a few hardy adventurers were enticed by the abundant supply of fish and timber, who gradually formed along the coast small stations, adding the practice of a slight agriculture for the supply of immediate wants.*

Massachusetts, however, began to overflow into these territories. In 1637, Wheelwright, the antinomian preacher, founded on the Piscataqua the town of Exeter, without paying much regard to the proprietor's rights, though he was ultimately obliged to submit to his officer, Williams. Three years afterwards, Massachusetts advanced claims to New Hampshire, as being within her patent; and although her pretensions were far from valid, her strength and the inclination of the people enabled her without difficulty to make them good. This new member was incorporated and endowed with all her political privileges. Several zealous ministers were sent, who are said to have greatly improved the people; but they had the discretion not to enforce any exclusive system, and during nearly forty years of this rule, the foundations of solid prosperity were laid. The feeling spread among the small seaports which began to stud the coast of Maine, and they were successively, either at their own request, or by the consent of large majorities, incorporated with the others. The proprietors loudly, and with good show of reason, remonstrated against these proceedings, but without obtaining any redress. The independents, now in power, were adverse to them, and friendly to Massachusetts; while the people, included within the political system of the latter state, earnestly petitioned for its continuance.

A complete reverse took place at the restoration of Charles II., all whose partialities were in favour of the old royalist proprietors, and against the puritan colony.

* Chalmers, p. 472-474. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 355-357.

Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the original patentees, immediately applied for restitution of their rights, which was granted, and the commissioners then sent out were instructed to enforce it. Yet the general court, by their local power, the affections of the inhabitants, and by constantly evading the demand for deputies duly empowered, contrived during sixteen years to retain the jurisdiction; but being, in 1677, brought before the chief justices of England, their pretensions were at once set aside. Mason was also obliged to yield his authority, though retaining a claim upon the lands. Maine was assigned to Gorges; but the rulers of Massachusetts contrived to purchase his rights for £1250, a sum, perhaps, above its actual value at the moment. They incurred reproach by treating it as a subject territory, appointing the governor and council, though they graciously allowed a popular legislature.*

New Hampshire being thus thrown loose, it was determined to manage it as a royal province; and in 1682, Edward Cranfield was sent as administrator. His government was one continued scene of discontent on the part of the people, amounting sometimes to rebellion. Mr Bancroft represents him as avowedly making it his sole object to amass money. It appears more certain that all his maxims were those of high prerogative; while Massachusetts had breathed among the people the puritan and republican spirit in its full force. He wrote "that while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance would be found in those parts." In 1685, he solicited his recall, declaring he should "esteem it the greatest happiness in the world to be allowed to remove from those unreasonable people." Presently after, this country with the whole of New England was united under the successive governments of Dudley and Andros. At the Revolution, it again became a separate and royal colony, though with some dependence on Massachusetts.†

* Chalmers, p. 476-485. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 452-466; ii. p. 113.
† Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 116. Chalmers, pp. 497, 498.

CHAPTER VII.

Pennsylvania.

Improved Character of the Quakers—William Penn—Obtains a Charter for Pennsylvania—Proposals circulated by him—Large Emigration—Treaty with the Indians—Foundation of Philadelphia—Boundary Disputes with Lord Baltimore—The Delaware Territory—Blackwell, Lloyd, and Markham as Governors—Internal Dissensions—Consequences of the Revolution—Penn restored—Again visits the Colony—Amended Constitution—His Return to England—Governments of Evans and Gookin—Death of Penn—Sir William Keith—Arrival of Thomas and John Penn—Preponderance of German Settlers—Quakers lose political Power.

The story of New England has exhibited the extravagances indulged in by the quakers. Carrying to an undue length that religious movement which produced the Reformation, they relinquished a proper regard not only to forms and ordinances, but to reason, and, in some degree, to Scripture, yielding themselves in a great measure to the guidance of visions and inward illuminations. They constituted at this period, as already observed, the extreme of the ultra-protestant section, which thenceforth began to recede from its too forward position. Not only did no similar sects spring up, but they themselves gradually pruned away the exaggerated features of their system. They assumed even a remarkably sedate character, and retaining still their deep devotional feeling, with only a few outward peculiarities, distinguished themselves in the walks of life by practical philanthropy. In this chastened and reformed quakerism, the lead was taken by William Penn, one of the

William Penn.

most illustrious characters of modern times. Born to rank and distinction, son to an admiral who had attained celebrity under Cromwell by the conquest of Jamaica, he embraced at college this persecuted cause, and devoted himself to it throughout his whole life. Refusing to retract or compromise his views, he was expelled from his father's house, becoming amenable to all the rigours then enforced against eccentric modes of religious worship and teaching. He indulged at first in certain extravagances; but ripening years, combined with extensive study, and travel over a great part of Europe, enlarged his mind, and while retaining the same devoted attachment to what was valuable in his system, he purified it from its principal errors. His steady course of christian kindness gained for him the general esteem of the public, and ultimately led to a reconcili-

ation with his parent, who bequeathed to him the whole of his property.

Among the tenets of this school, which Penn at all times advocated with the utmost zeal, was that of complete liberty in religious opinion and worship. It became, indeed, a leading object of his life to render himself a shield not only to his own people, but to all who on this ground were exposed to suffering and persecution. Unable as yet fully to accomplish his end in the old world, he conceived the plan of providing for them, in the new continent, an asylum similar to that of their pilgrim ancestors. By founding there a state open to the votaries of every faith, he might, he hoped, fulfil this benevolent purpose, and at the same time secure for himself a degree of importance and wealth. He possessed, in virtue of his father's services, a claim on government, estimated at £16,000; but after a long delay, amid the exigencies of the court, he could not without difficulty have rendered it effective in any shape, except for one favourable circumstance. He enjoyed the favour both of Charles II. and James II., and was always a welcome guest at Whitehall. This intercourse with princes whose character was so unlike his own, excited in that age a feeling of surprise which we can scarcely avoid sharing. The most injurious surmises arose,—he was represented as a papist, and even a jesuit. He seems, however, to have clearly proved, that he never concurred in any of the illegal measures of those rulers, but employed his influence almost solely, with the view of obtaining protection for those numerous sufferers in whom he took so deep an interest.* Had his object been money, he must have encountered many obstacles in obtaining it from the dilapidated treasury of Charles. It was much easier to get the royal assent respecting a desert region beyond the Atlantic, whence no immediate benefit was derived. His petition, being presented in June 1680, was referred

* Proud's History of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1797), vol. i. p. 316-322. Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 397-399.

to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, who declared it to be unobjectionable, provided the rights of these individuals were preserved inviolate. Penn, therefore, submitted the draft of a charter, which, after being revised by Chief Justice North and the Bishop of London, was passed under the seal-royal. It granted to him the tract in America extending northwards from the 40th to the 43d degree of latitude, and five degrees of longitude westward, from a boundary-line drawn twelve miles from Newcastle on the Delaware. Nearly the same privileges were conceded as were formerly granted to Lord Baltimore. The proprietor was empowered to dispose of the lands in fee-simple, to levy taxes with consent of the freemen or their delegates, to erect courts of justice, and (what one might scarcely have expected) to raise forces for the defence of the province by sea and land. There was reserved, however, the sovereignty of the crown, and its claim to allegiance, also an appeal from the courts to the king in council, and the right of parliament to levy custom-duties. The acts passed by the Assembly and the owner were to be transmitted within five years to his majesty, and if considered unconstitutional, might be disallowed. The Bishop of London stipulated for the reception of a preacher, as soon as one should be requested by twenty of the settlers.*

Invested with these ample powers, Penn proceeded to give to the colony a constitution, on a very liberal footing. A council of seventy-two, elected by the body of the people, and having a third of their number renewed every year, carried on the executive government, in conjunction with the proprietor, who was allowed three votes. This body was divided into four committees, of plantation, trade, justice, and education. They prepared the bills and propositions which were submitted to the General Assembly, also elected by the people. They were to sit nine days only, during eight of which they were to consider the proposals made by the council,

* Chalmers, p. 635-638. Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 363, 364.

and on the ninth to pronounce their decision. This system, said to have been copied chiefly from the Oceana of Harrington, was not very well fitted for practical purposes, and had not a long duration.*

Penn now circulated widely his proposals through Britain, France, and Germany; the oppressed and impoverished of every class being invited to this land of promise. He recommended it not only to those who suffered under religious persecution, but "to industrious labourers and handicraftsmen—ingenious spirits low in the world—younger brothers of small inheritances, instead of hanging on as retainers on their elder brother's table and charity—lastly, to men of an universal spirit, who have an eye to the good of posterity." The necessary expense of conveyance was stated to be,—for an adult £5, a child under twelve £2, 10s., goods £2 per ton. Those who could not afford even this moderate amount, were informed that, on engaging with emigrants of property for a service of four years, not only would their passage be defrayed, but at the end of the term they would receive 50 acres, at 2s. quit-rent. An extent of 5000 acres was sold for £100, with 50s. quit-rent, commencing only in 1684. Those who preferred might pay merely a quit-rent of 1d. an acre, or £20, 16s. 8d. Smaller tracts were disposed of at corresponding prices. Poor men were allowed 50 acres at ½d. per acre.†

These advantageous terms, the troubled state of Europe, and the high character of the proprietor, caused his proposals to be received with general favour. An influx into America took place, such as had never been equalled since the days of the first settlers. Between 1682 and 1685, there arrived ninety sail, conveying an average of eighty passengers, in all 7200, besides 1000 who had landed in 1681. They had been sent under his kinsman

* Frame of the Government of Pennsylvania, 1682, p. 1-3. Chalmers, p. 642.

† Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, in America. London, 1681, p. 5. Recueil de diverses Pieces concernant la Pensylvanie, 1683, &c., pp. 24-26, 31-33.

Markham, to take possession of the country, and prepare the way for the larger colony.* He found no difficulty in completing the purchase of an extensive tract of land from the Indians, on terms satisfactory to them, yet moderate for the buyer.

In October 1682, Penn arrived, with a body of 2000 emigrants. After some time spent in surveying his new possessions, he, in the beginning of 1683, arranged a meeting with the native chiefs, under the canopy of a spacious elm tree, near the present site of Philadelphia. They appeared on the day appointed, in their rude attire, and with brandished weapons, beneath the shadow of those dense woods which covered what is now a fine and cultivated plain. On learning that the English approached, they deposited their arms and sat down in groups, each tribe behind its own chieftain. Penn then stepping forward in his usual plain dress and unarmed, held forth in his hand the parchment on which the treaty was engrossed. In a simple speech, he announced to them those principles of equity and amity upon which he desired that all their future intercourse should be conducted. He besought them to keep this parchment during three generations. The Indians replied, in their usual solemn and figurative language, that they would live in peace with him and with his children while the sun and moon should endure. A friendly display like this is by no means unusual in the first opening of intercourse between civilized and savage nations; but seldom, indeed, does it long continue unbroken, or fail even of being succeeded by an imbittered enmity. Pennsylvania afforded at least one happy exception. Her founder continued with this savage people on terms not only of peace, but of intimate union; he visited them in their villages, he slept in their wigwams; they welcomed him almost as a brother. Forty years afterwards they said to the governor, Sir William Keith,

* A further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, signed William Penn, Warminghurst Place, 12th of the 10th mo. 1685, page 3.

as the highest possible compliment :—" We esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself."* What was still more wonderful, the colonists, though they had to struggle with many uncongenial spirits in their own body, succeeded in maintaining good terms with the natives; and for nearly a century, the Indian tomahawk was never lifted against a people who would have considered it unlawful to return the blow.

His next object was to found a capital for his new settlement. He chose a site upon a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, in a situation which appeared at once agreeable and healthy, abounding in water, and with convenient river communications. He gave to it the name of Philadelphia (brotherly love), under which it has become one of the most flourishing cities in the New World. Combining the taste for neatness and regularity characteristic of his people, with a love of rural nature, he planned a town composed of parallel streets, each a hundred feet broad, crossed by others also spacious, and some indicating by their very names, Vine, Mulberry, Chestnut, that the verdure of the country was still to enliven them. The purchasers of 5000 acres were to have a house in one of the two principal streets, with a garden and orchard; those of 1000 in the three next; such as were under 1000 acres in the cross streets. In 1684, fifty villages, arranged in regular squares, had sprung up, on a similar plan, though on a smaller scale.†

In December 1682, Penn proceeded to Maryland, to adjust with Lord Baltimore the boundaries of their respective provinces. His lordship received him, as he had before received his agent Markham, with the utmost politeness; yet the arrangement was found very difficult and vexatious. The specified limit of the 40th degree had, in the maps of that age, been made to run across the Bay of Chesapeake, about the latitude of Pool's Island.

* Penn's Works, fol. 1726, vol. i. p. 122.
† Further Account, &c. p. 3-6. Recueil de diverses Pièces, &c., pp. 101, 102.

Thus the head of that great inlet was left within the bounds assigned to Pennsylvania, and afforded an advantageous outlet for her commerce. Lord Baltimore, however, caused a new and more scientific survey to be made, showing that this limit really lay considerably to the north of any part of the bay, from which the new province was thus wholly excluded. This circumstance bore heavily upon the philanthropist, whose colony was thus deprived of all direct maritime trade. He earnestly urged, that the space in question was a hundred times more valuable to him than to the other party, of whose territory this was only an outer tract, scarcely at all known or settled; that the proprietor of Maryland must probably have gained by the error in settling his own boundaries with Virginia; and that the understanding upon which the grant had been made ought to be taken into consideration. Their interests came into collision on another point. Penn had obtained a grant from the Duke of York of the whole coast of the river and bay of Delaware, southward from Newcastle to Cape Hinlopen, which would in some degree have supplied his want of a seacoast. But the other party claimed all the shores of this bay also, as included within the 40th degree. Both parties, during their personal intercourse, maintained their claims with extreme pertinacity, yet with politeness; but the correspondence which afterwards ensued is tinctured with considerable bitterness, each accusing the other of forwarding his views in an unfair manner. Historians are even still much divided. Mr Chalmers derides the claim of Penn, whom, in truth, he always mentions in the most depreciating terms; indeed, to have been engaged in any dispute with a Baltimore, was enough in his eyes to efface the brightest qualities that could adorn a human being. Mr Bancroft, on the contrary, has in this particular forsaken his first love, and admits nothing to interfere with the absolute perfection of the Pennsylvanian legislator. It became necessary to refer the question to the Committee of Plantation, who,

in November 1685, came to the decision that the 40th degree, in its real direction, must be the boundary, thus excluding the quaker from the Chesapeake. But while they allowed that the Maryland patent had extended indeed to the Delaware, they considered that it had been granted only in respect to such countries as were not occupied by any Christian people, while that region had been already colonized in considerable numbers by the Dutch and Swedes. Hence it was determined that the eastern part belonged of right to the crown, including Penn's domain, which was thereby rendered valid, and gave him the command of that fine estuary, thus in a great measure compensating his loss on another side.*

In 1684, Penn was induced by this and other affairs to return to England, leaving the administration in the hands of commissioners; a body who did not by any means work harmoniously. Moore, a leading proprietary officer, was accused by the assembly of corruption and other high misdemeanors; which charge being strenuously resisted by the executive, a violent collision ensued. The proprietor, while he felt disposed to grant a liberal government to his settlers, was probably little prepared to make over to them the whole political power, which yet they seem to have been determined to grasp. In 1686, he sent instructions to his officers to dissolve the constitution, which he had so studiously constructed. The assembly, however, foreseeing that the change was proposed with a view to the abridgment of their privileges, resolutely opposed his views. He then determined to supersede the commission, and appoint a deputy-governor, as more likely to support his authority.

The person selected was Blackwell, who is admitted to have been no quaker, and indeed to have had nothing akin to the character. The apology made seems singular, namely, that no one of that profession could be found fit for the office, and willing to undertake it. We may rather suspect that, being a dexterous politician and high

* Proud, vol. i. pp. 208, 268, 270-282. Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 387-396. Chalmers, pp. 647-651; 663-665.

advocate for power, he was expected to beat down the democratic opposition. His efforts for this purpose were carried to an extreme. White, who, as former speaker, had been active in the prosecution of Moore, having been re-elected as delegate, was thrown into prison, and his claim under the habeas corpus act evaded. The most imbittered messages passed between the governor and assembly. He contrived, however, to gain over a part of the members, and thus to carry on the government.*

On these proceedings being represented to him, Penn was not disposed to support them; and he now threw almost every thing into the hands of the council, on whom he conferred the power of choosing the executive officers and deputy-governor: they elected Thomas Lloyd, a quaker preacher of great merit. But neither did this arrangement work well. Schisms arose among the too numerous body; and violent protests were made. The chief conflicts, which were between the old territory of Pennsylvania and the new counties on the Delaware, rose to such a height, that the proprietor was obliged reluctantly to separate the two territories; appointing Markham governor of the latter, which ultimately formed a small state, bearing the name of that great bay. Peace did not reign among the quakers themselves. George Keith, one of the most eminent among them as a preacher and writer, disappointed perhaps at not himself obtaining a lead in the government, proclaimed that no one of his sect could lawfully act as an executive officer or magistrate, and if he did, had no claim to any obedience. These doctrines, enforced not in the mildest terms, brought him under the cognizance of the authorities. His adherents allege that their proceedings were violent and irregular; that without hearing or inquiry he was proclaimed in the market-place a seditious person, and an enemy to the king and queen; and that the ministers, with as little ceremony, denounced him as not having the fear of God before his eyes. The actual

* Chalmers, pp. 651, 652. Proud, vol. i. p. 340.

penalty was only a moderate fine, and not even enforced; but the finding himself proscribed among his brethren, both in the colony and at home, seems to have exasperated him;—he became an enemy to the quakers, abandoned their communion, and finally accepted an episcopal benefice. He was lamented by them as a mighty man fallen from the high places of Israel; and the noise made by these feuds seriously injured the colony in the crisis which now arose.*

The Pennsylvanians, who had owed every thing to James II., did not share the general joy at his abdication in 1688. The news was unwillingly believed; and the government, till September 1789, was still administered in his name. This was carefully reported from New York; while in England, charges were brought against the proprietor as adhering to popery, or at least strongly attached to the exiled house. William, after some hesitation, deprived him of his patent; and in April 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, assumed authority also over Pennsylvania. The assembly professed their willingness to obey, provided they were ruled in the usual manner, and by laws founded on letters-patent. But he intimated that they were much mistaken; that the change had been made on account of neglects and miscarriages; and that his majesty's mode of governing would be in direct opposition to that of Mr Penn. It was even maintained that all the former laws had been abrogated, though a willingness was expressed to re-enact the greater number. The assembly, however, insisted on their validity; and, while acknowledging the authority of the king, denied the charge of former misgovernment. They resisted also the demands for money; and thus a perpetual strife reigned between them and the governor, who declared that nothing would remedy the evil but annexation to New

* Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 34-37. Proud, vol. i. p. 354-357. Account of great Divisions among the Quakers of Pennsylvania, 1692, 1693. Trials of Peter Ross, George Keith, &c. London, 1693.

York; and complained that, though his door was never shut, it was avoided, as if it had been treason to be seen in his company.*

Penn, meantime, passed through many trials; and after being repeatedly acquitted, was arraigned on fresh charges. However, he was strongly supported by Locke, Rochester, and other friends; and as nothing could be proved against him except a personal attachment to King James, without sharing his bigotry, William, in August 1694, passed the patent for his restoration. As he could not go out in person, Markham was again appointed deputy. But the assembly, though pleased to be rid of the royal government, did not show any greater deference to that of the proprietary. They had wrested the privilege of originating bills, and availed themselves of it so far as to draw almost the whole power into their hands. Markham, on convening them in 1697, said:—"You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves."†

In 1699, Penn again visited the colony. His object seems to have been to obtain the consent of the people to a constitution which, granting them every reasonable franchise, might preserve to himself the ordinary powers of an executive head. After much difficulty and opposition, he had the address to carry his point. The original frame was surrendered, and a new one formed, based on the more common and approved principles of representative government. The assembly, as elsewhere, was to have the power of originating bills; but these were to require the assent of the proprietary. He obtained also the important privilege of naming the council, and had thus to contend with only one popular body instead of two.‡

He had gone out with the avowed intention of spending the rest of his life in Pennsylvania; but he was recalled by a project for abolishing all the pro-

* Chalmers, p. 667. Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 37-39. Proud, vol. i. p. 386-390.

† Bancroft, vol. iii. pp. 40, 41. ‡ Ibid. p. 40-43.

prietary governments, for which purpose a new bill had been introduced into parliament. He was mortified to find this measure supported by a considerable body of his own colonists. His liberal arrangements and invitations had attracted many whose dispositions were wholly alien to him and his sect, and who indignantly submitted to their authority. They complained that, amid the professed religious equality, all government and power were "engrossed and confined to the quakers, and all others his majesty's good subjects excluded and denied the benefit of the king's laws and the rights of subjects." Under this strange rule no provision was made for defence against enemies either at home or abroad. The crown, they insisted, ought to have the power of levying men and money, of calling assemblies, and of life and death, leaving to Penn only his manorial rights. Reference was also made to a recent statement published by him, that he had spent £20,000 on the settlement, and had not received from it £500. In contradiction to this, they gave the following account of his emoluments:—

Sales, . . .	£15,000
Quit-rents, at 18 years' purchase, .	10,000
Overplus land, . . .	5,000
Town lots,	2,400
	£32,400

But supposing that there is here no exaggeration, the second and third heads are evidently in a great measure prospective, and it is not denied that much had been spent in buildings, improvements, law proceedings, and in paying his officers.*

Penn, however, on reaching England, was gratified to find that the dreaded project had been renounced, and the

* Reflections on the Printed Case of William Penn, Esq. By some Gentlemen in Pennsylvania. London, 1702.—Considering the interesting subject of Penn's publication here replied to, the author feels wonder and regret at having vainly sought for it, either separately or in any collection of his works; nor does either it, or this imbittered answer, appear to have been known to any former writer on the subject.

bill withdrawn. He acquired considerable favour with Queen Anne; but circumstances prevented his return. Hamilton, appointed his deputy, was still troubled by internal dissensions. These were not abated by the nomination, in 1703, of Evans, in whom we see a character the most opposite to that of the proprietor himself. This officer, young, lively, fond of frolic and revelry, and inflamed with military ardour, was utterly opposed to the quaker assembly, and treated with derision their pacific dispositions. He began to erect forts without their permission, and endeavoured, but in vain, to rouse them by a false alarm of a French invasion. On having three of their bills presented to him, he told them, "they were very great absurdities." They sent home loud remonstrances, complaining also that under the new frame their liberties were greatly abridged. Penn listened unwillingly, and it was not till 1709 that this unsuitable ruler was removed. He was succeeded by Gookin, an Irish gentleman, of good age and mild manners; yet the discontents still continued. The war with Canada having broken out, he had the ungracious task of demanding a supply of £4000 and 150 men. It was privately intimated that the money would suffice; but the assembly declared that they could not in conscience either fight or hire others to do so; however, they offered the queen a present of £500. The chief objection made was to the amount; but on this point, pleading poverty, they stood firm. An equal sum was afterwards, in a similar manner, extracted from them.*

In 1710, Penn, having reached the age of sixty-six, sent out a solemn remonstrance on the feuds and discontent in which the settlers had so long indulged. Amid the satisfaction of seeing the colony free and flourishing, their disputes had been to him a source of grief, trouble, and poverty. Recapitulating the whole train of his proceedings, he appealed to them whether he had given any real cause for this conduct; he lamented the

* Proud, vol. i. p. 463-480; vol. ii. p. 20-30. Grahame's History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 390-392.

unhappiness they were bringing on themselves, as well as the scandal they were causing in the eyes of Europe, by such incessant contention. This appeal was not unsuccessful; and in the next year an assembly much more friendly to him was elected. It is doubtful, however, if this news ever reached him. Oppressed with embarrassments and losses incurred seemingly without blame, he had entered into a treaty with government for transferring his territorial rights, and had agreed to accept for them £12,000. A series of apoplectic shocks, however, entirely deprived him of his faculties, and disabled him from completing the bargain, so that the property remained in his family.*

The favour restored to Penn was not extended to Gookin, whom the assembly accused of arbitrary measures, and of favouring the non-quaker part of the population. In 1716, he was succeeded by Sir William Keith, who, during the illness of the founder, was named by the king. This governor enjoyed a much greater degree of favour than any of his predecessors, though he is accused of purchasing it by too entire an acquiescence in the demands of the assembly, and allowing almost the whole power to pass into their hands. Such, at least, was the opinion of the proprietaries, who considered him also as neglecting their interest, and at the end of nine years removed him. He then attempted to raise a factious opposition, but was obliged to leave the colony. After a peaceable administration of several years by Major Gordon, Thomas and afterwards John Penn, sons of the late owner, went out in 1732 and 1734. They were received with the most cordial welcome, though the former did not altogether preserve his popularity.†

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the character of the population underwent a gradual change. From the first a large proportion had been drawn from Germany, and Pennsylvania became the favourite re-

* Grahame, vol. ii. p. 389-395. Proud, vol. ii. p. 46.
† Grahame, vol. iii. pp. 82-85, 135, 136.

sort of those who, by poverty and persecution, were driven from that country. A considerable number, who felt uneasy in the neighbouring states, joined their countrymen. The prevailing sect among this people were the branch of the anabaptists called Mennonites, who, to a great extent, harmonized with the quakers, both in their character and religious views.* In 1755, a writer estimates that, of the entire population of 220,000, nearly a half were Germans, and two-fifths of the remainder disciples of Barclay. Sharing the feelings of ordinary Englishmen, he is averse to the latter, and seems to view the former with still greater antipathy. He thinks it an extreme hardship, that these "ignorant, proud, stubborn clowns," strangers to the language and laws of England, should bear rule in the assembly. The usual reproach is renewed, that no measures were taken for the defence of the country.† The threatening attitude which the French and their Indian allies had now assumed along the back settlements, gave so much force to this complaint, that, in 1755, an act was extorted from the members for embodying and training a regiment of provincial militia. The quakers thenceforth withdrew in a great measure from public affairs, and resigned that power which they had held upwards of seventy years. They had not exercised it with all the moderation which would have been desirable and suitable to their profession; yet during this long period, they had maintained profound peace with the Indians, against whom other states had waged the most bitter hostilities. Amid the reiterated complaints, too, of the want of provision for state defence, the fact was, that no enemy had ever molested its borders. They soon after distinguished themselves by the noble measure of generally emancipating their negro slaves, who had insensibly increased to a considerable number.‡

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 393. Grahame, vol. ii. p. 396; vol. iii. p. 135.

† A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania. 4to. London, 1755.

‡ Grahame, vol. iii. p. 403-407.

CHAPTER VIII.

New York.

The Territory discovered by Hudson—His Voyage up the River—Early Settlements—Granted to the Dutch West India Company—Colony formed—Kieft—Indian War—Stuyvesant—Prosperity of the Settlement—Discontents—Capture by the English—Reconquered, but again ceded—Andros—Representative Government—Abolished—Revolution—Leisler assumes the Government—His Death—Government of Sloughter—Fletcher—Bellamont—Cornbury—Lovelace—Hunter—Cosby—Osborne—New Jersey—Grant to Berkeley and Carteret—Discontents—The Quakers and Penn—Becomes a royal Colony.

NOTWITHSTANDING the paramount importance to which New York has attained, its early settlement was not accompanied by such striking circumstances as marked those of some other colonies. As our account of the latter has somewhat exceeded the prescribed limits, we hope to condense within a smaller compass all that, under the present head, will be interesting to British readers.

About the year 1600, the attention of the English and Dutch had been directed to the discovery of a northern passage to India, which they hoped might at once be shorter, and enable them to escape the still formidable hostility of Spain. After this object had been vainly pursued by Frobisher, Davis, Barentz, and other navigators, it was resumed by Henry Hudson. Though a native of Holland, he was first employed by a company of English merchants, when he made the daring effort to cross the pole itself, and penetrated farther in that direc-

tion than any of his predecessors; but the icy barriers compelled him to return. He next attempted an eastern passage, between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, but again failed. His patrons in London then lost courage; but he, animated by the same ardour, solicited and obtained from the Dutch East India Company a small vessel, named the Crescent, to renew his researches. After another abortive endeavour at an eastern passage, he appears to have finally renounced that object; and steering toward the west, began to explore the American coast, from Newfoundland southwards. It had, indeed, been to a great extent both discovered and settled, yet not in such continuity as to preclude the hope of finding a deep bay leading to the Pacific, and through it to the East Indies. In the beginning of July, he reached the great bank, and continued his course cautiously along the shores of Acadia. In 44° he touched at the mouth of a spacious river, which appears to have been the Penobscot, where the French were found carrying on a very active trade. In passing Cape Cod, his people landed at several points, and held intercourse with the natives. They then pursued their course through the open sea, till, on the 17th August, they came in sight of a low land, and soon afterwards found themselves off the bar of James' River, where they understood that the English had formed a settlement. No opening having yet occurred, it seemed expedient to return northward, keeping closer to the coast. They found it running north-west, and entered a great bay with rivers, evidently that of Delaware. The water was so shoaly, however, as to prevent its exploration, unless in pinnaces drawing only four or five feet. They proceeded therefore to the coast now called New Jersey, and were involved in the range of islands running parallel to it. The navigation was very difficult on account of storms and frequent shallows. At length Hudson came to a continuous land, good and pleasant, rising boldly from the sea, and bounded by high hills. He appeared to discover the mouths of three great rivers, which however could only be different channels, separated

by islands, of the great stream now bearing his name. Boats were sent to sound the most northern of them, which was found to afford a good depth of water. They entered it, and were soon visited by large parties of natives in canoes, when a friendly exchange took place, of tobacco and maize for knives and beads. Unfortunately, a boat, being sent to examine one of the other channels, was assailed by twenty of the savages in two skiffs, one of the seamen killed, and two wounded. This unhappy event poisoned their future intercourse with the Indians, whose friendly professions were henceforth considered as made only with a view to betray them. At one place, twenty-eight canoes, full of men, women, and children, approached and made overtures for trade; but their intentions being considered evil, they were not allowed to come on board. In ascending, the Hudson was found to be a noble stream, a mile broad, and bordered by lofty mountains. Seventeen days after entering it, the vessel, being embarrassed by shoals, stopped at a point where a small city has since been built, bearing the name of the discoverer. A boat sailed eight or nine leagues higher, somewhat above the site of Albany, where it was clear that the ship could not proceed farther. In this upper tract, the intercourse with the natives was very friendly, and even the suspicions of the crew were lulled. One party came on board, who being freely treated with wine and aquavitae, became all merry, and one completely tipsy, the effects of which caused to his companions the greatest surprise. On the way down, they were repeatedly attacked by the large body which in ascending had excited their jealousy. On each occasion, a discharge of musketry, killing two or three, caused all the rest to take flight. On leaving the river, Hudson made directly for Europe, and arrived at Dartmouth on the 7th November 1609.*

He transmitted to the Dutch Company a flattering report of the country which he had discovered, strongly

* Purchas, part iii. p. 581-595. Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

recommending a settlement. It has even been said, that he sold his rights to them, which seems quite erroneous, as in fact he could not be said to possess any. He was not even allowed to follow up this important discovery, but was obliged again to seek employment from the English merchants. By them, in 1610, he was sent out on that remarkable voyage, during which he explored the great bay to which his name is attached, but unhappily fell a sacrifice to the mutiny of a turbulent crew.*

The Dutch, however, in virtue of this discovery, claimed the country, and in 1610, a few individuals fitted out a vessel for traffic. Several stations were formed on the island of Manhattan (the name then given to New York), but no attempt was made to colonize. In 1613, they were visited by Argall, the adventurous English captain, who compelled them to own the dominion of his country; but as no steps were taken to follow up this advantage, they continued as before to trade with the natives, and consider the land their own. In 1614, a grant of exclusive commerce was made to a company of merchants, who thereupon erected a rude fort, and pushed their operations as high as Albany. They appear at the same time to have formed a station at the mouth of the Connecticut.†

In 1620, American settlement was attempted on a grander scale, by the formation of the Dutch West India Company, incorporated for twenty-four years. Their privileges included the whole western coast of Africa, as far as the Cape, with all the eastern shores of America, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan. Over this vast extent they had the exclusive right to conclude treaties, carry on war, and exercise all the functions of government. No notice was taken in the grant, that the whole of this territory was claimed, and many parts occupied, by other European nations; nor

* Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), p. 229.
† Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 271-273.

did the government, in making this vast donation of what was not their own, promise the means of placing it in the company's hands. Their possessions, accordingly, were fiercely disputed, and most precariously held. The weakness of the Portuguese crown enabled them to grasp large portions of its territory in Brazil and on the African coast. In North America, they did not venture to measure their strength with the English, but were content silently to enlarge their stations on the Hudson, which the latter showed no disposition to occupy. The country was called New Netherlands; and an increasing cluster of cottages, where New York now stands, was named New Amsterdam.*

As yet there was nothing that could be denominated a colony; but in 1629, government interposed to establish one on a considerable scale. It was planned on quite an aristocratic basis; for though lands were granted to detached settlers, the chief dependence was on opulent individuals, who were expected to carry out bodies of tenants at their own expense; and those who should transport fifty became lords of manors, holding the absolute property of the lands thus colonized. They might even possess tracts sixteen miles long, and be furnished with negroes, if they could profitably do so. Several of them began to found these manors; two, Godyn and De Vries, led out thirty settlers to the head of the Delaware, laying the first foundation of that state; but the latter having visited home, found on his return that it had been attacked by the Indians and totally destroyed. The whole colony was unprosperous, and very hard pressed on different sides. The New England settlement in Connecticut soon surrounded their little station, obliged them to give way, and even to abandon part of Long Island. At the same time, the Swedes, then in the height of their power under Gustavus Adolphus, planned a settlement, which was zealously supported by that great monarch, who subscribed 400,000 dollars in its

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 277. Chalmers, p. 569-571.

favour. They fixed on the Bay of Delaware; and though Kieft, the governor sent from Holland, entered a protest, he did not venture to employ force against the conqueror of Lutzen. Moreover, Lord Baltimore, having just obtained his patent extending northward to the latitude of 40°, intimated his claim to nearly the whole of the Dutch territory. All these annoyances, however, were small compared to the Indian war, in which the atrocious violence of Kieft involved the colony. Attacking by surprise a party who had shown some hostile dispositions, he commenced a general massacre, in which nearly a hundred perished. Hence raged during two years a contest, accompanied by the usual horrors and calamities, and which effectually checked the progress of New Netherlands. At length a treaty was negotiated, in which the five nations were included.*

A few years after, in 1646, the governor was recalled, to the great satisfaction of the people, and was succeeded by Stuyvesant, a military officer of distinction, brave, honest, and with some tincture of letters. Adopting a wise and humane policy towards the Indians, he succeeded in obviating any disturbance from that quarter. By negotiation with the company, he obtained a release from those trammels by which commerce had hitherto been fettered, substituting moderate duties on exports and imports. He suffered, however, much trouble from the English, who were continually extending their frontier on and beyond the Connecticut, and set scarcely any limit to their claims. The settlers discouraged greatly any idea of going to war with so powerful a neighbour, and exhorted him to gain the best terms he could by treaty. By large concessions he obtained a provisional compact, which was never indeed ratified in Britain, yet obtained for his people some security. Stuyvesant then turned his eyes on the other side to the Swedish colony, which had prospered and become a commercial rival. It was much inferior, however, to New Nether-

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 279-290.

lands, while the death of Gustavus and of his great ministers and generals, succeeded by the fantastic sway of Christina, rendered her country no longer formidable. He therefore, with the sanction of his employers, determined to reannex it, for which some violent proceedings on the part of Rising, the governor, afforded a fair pretext. Having assembled a force of 600 men, he marched into New Sweden, as it was termed, which, after a short resistance, renounced that name, and became incorporated with the Dutch dependency. A few of the settlers returned to their native country; the rest yielded to the mild sway of the conqueror. Stuyvesant was next annoyed by Lord Baltimore, who could boast that his charter entitled him to extend his borders to New England, leaving no room whatever for New Netherlands; but as his pretensions were not supported by any adequate force, they were easily evaded.*

The company, though they did not grant any political franchises to the colonists, took great care to have them well governed, and to check those despotic practices in which Stuyvesant, from his military habits, was prone to indulge. They prohibited likewise all persecution, and studied to make the country a refuge for professors of every creed. From France, the Low Countries, the Rhine, Northern Germany, Bohemia, the mountains of Piedmont, the suffering protestants flocked to this transatlantic asylum. Even the New Englanders, allured by the fine climate and fertile soil, arrived in great numbers, and formed entire villages. It therefore became expedient to have a secretary of their nation, and to issue proclamations in French and English, as well as Dutch. To augment the variety, the company introduced as many negro slaves as they conveniently could. New York became, as Mr Bancroft terms it, a city of the world; its inhabitants termed themselves a blended community of various lineage. Unluckily for the Dutch, the protestants of that age carried generally with them

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 293-298. Chalmers, pp. 571, 572.

an ardent attachment to civil liberty, which was pushed to its utmost height by those of New England. Their views soon found favour in the eyes even of the Hollanders; for, though some of the more opulent were adverse to any very broad popular institutions, they could not forbear joining in the objection to be taxed without their own consent. Innovations of this nature, it appeared, were agreeable neither to the company nor the governor. The colonists, having sent over a deputation to the former, obtained a few municipal privileges, but none of the rights of a representative government. Such was their perseverance, however, that they erected one for themselves, by calling two deputies from each village; and the body thus assembled presented a remonstrance to Stuyvesant, claiming that their consent should be necessary to the enactment of new laws, and even to the appointment of officers. He received this address extremely ill, and bitterly reproached them with yielding to the visionary notions of the New Englanders; stating that the laws were good, and would continue to be well executed, but could not be allowed to emanate from the wavering multitude. He derived his authority only from God and the West India Company, who would never become responsible to their own subjects. The remonstrants were therefore commanded, under a severe penalty, immediately to disperse. In this the company firmly supported their governor, directing that the people should no longer indulge the visionary dream that taxes could be imposed only with their own consent. They, however, cherished a deep dissatisfaction, which, though it did not break out into open violence, indisposed them to make any exertions in support of a government under which they enjoyed no rights. This became of serious consequence in the crisis that was now approaching.*

Considering the long and imbittered hostility of England against the Dutch, it may appear wonderful that she did not sooner attempt the conquest of a valuable

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 304-308.

possession, to which she had so plausible a title. Cromwell, in fact, had projected it, but was diverted by other objects. Charles II., always prejudiced against that people, soon adopted the same resolution; and even before any measure was taken for conquering the country, he included it in a grant made to his brother James, of the territory from the Kennebec to the St Croix, and from the Connecticut to the Delaware. To make good this donation, Sir Robert Nichols was sent out with an expedition, to be reinforced by a detachment from another colony. The Dutch had for some time foreseen the crisis; but unwilling to expend their funds in sending troops, they urged the governor to seek means of defence within his own dominions. This, from circumstances already stated, was exceedingly difficult; and though Stuyvesant, in this emergency, granted their demand for a representative assembly, it was too late to inspire confidence, and the people declined making any sacrifices to repel a power from whom they hoped more liberal treatment. In August 1664, Nichols cast anchor in face of New Amsterdam, having landed part of his troops on Long Island. He immediately summoned the city to surrender, guaranteeing to the people their property, the rights of citizens, their ancient laws and usages. The governor attempted by delay and negotiation to parry the blow; but the other declined all discussion, and the principal inhabitants, headed by Winthrop from Connecticut, assembling in the town-hall, determined against offering any resistance. They drew up articles of surrender conformable to the demand of the English officer, which, however, Stuyvesant refused to sign till the place was actually in the enemy's hands.*

The colonists were disappointed in their hope of augmented privileges, having fallen into the hands of the Duke of York (from whom the state derived its name), one who afterwards showed himself willing to sacrifice a crown in

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 311-314.

the attempt to establish absolute power. Under his direction, Nichols and his successor Lovelace admitted no sharers in their authority except a court of assizes, composed of a council and justices of the peace, all appointed by themselves. In the governor and this body was vested the whole power, legislative, executive, and judicial. The arbitrary imposition of taxes, as usual, excited the strongest discontent. Nichols extracted sums of money by declaring new patents necessary for the Dutch, on which fees were exacted. Lovelace is said to have avowed the policy of laying on duties so heavy, that the people might have leisure to think of nothing but the means of paying them. In some cases payment was refused; and from different quarters such warm remonstrances appeared, that they were condemned to be burned by the common executioner. In these circumstances, hostilities broke out between England and Holland; a small squadron, under Evertzen, appearing before New York, encountered no resistance; he regained the city and country with the same ease and rapidity that Nichols had conquered it. The war, however, was occasioned by the famous league of Louis XIV. and Charles II., entirely to crush the Dutch republic. That people encountered it with glory, and saved themselves; but in such a hard struggle, they could not expect to secure conquests. It was honourable for them to obtain a treaty, stipulating the restoration of those made on each side; but on this ground they again lost New York.*

The duke then obtained a new patent, securing more ample powers than ever to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his deputies should establish. Andros, long an instrument of despotism, was sent out as governor, but encountered in some quarters open though fruitless opposition. James applauded his energy on this occasion, as well as his prudence in "discouraging all mention of assemblies." The people, however, were not by any means patient under

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 320-325.

this denial, especially when, at the expiration of three years, for which the taxes had been at first imposed, they were renewed during an equal period, without the slightest reference to themselves. They made such loud complaints against Andros, that he was recalled to answer for his conduct. Soon after Dyer, collector of the revenue, was charged with high treason, for levying taxes without authority of law, and sent to England for trial. Both were acquitted; but the duke was so wrought upon by these violent measures, and the importunity of the colonists, that he at length agreed to give a representation. It was to consist of eighteen members to act in conjunction with a council of ten: a concession which was less valued, because it was carried into execution by Dongan, a new governor, who, as a zealous catholic, was held in horror. The assembly was, however, called, and sat two sessions, 1683 and 1684, passing several laws, which were confirmed by his royal highness. So great, on the whole, was the satisfaction felt, that his accession to the throne was hailed with heartfelt rejoicings. But a change had come over his views, or rather they had relapsed into their ordinary channel. The charter of Massachusetts having been forfeited, and a determination formed to exclude the people from all representative government, it would have been very inconvenient to let them see neighbours possessing what was denied to themselves. Instructions were accordingly sent to the governor to call no more assemblies, but to centre again the legislative power in his own person. In 1688, Andros was sent out to unite New York, along with all the New England states, in one system of absolute rule. This annexation was peculiarly odious to the former, in whose eyes the others had always been objects of peculiar dread and aversion. Thus James, as the time approached when friends would be so much wanted, studiously converted those he had into imbittered enemies. The first rumours of his downfal were received with equal joy here as at Boston. As soon as the landing of the Prince of Orange was known, a multi-

tude rose in arms, under the conduct of Jacob Leisler, a foreign merchant, of an ardent and daring character. They signed a declaration, "to guard the fort, on behalf of the powers now governing England, to be surrendered to the person, of *the protestant religion*, who shall be sent to take possession thereof." The council found themselves unable to stem the torrent, and, without attempting to defend the place, requested Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, to proceed to England in order to represent to William the state of affairs, doubtless to influence him in favour of their own party, and represent the declarants as turbulent and seditious. The latter, however, being left in the full possession of power, called an assembly of the people, who were joined by two deputies from Connecticut. A committee of safety was appointed, having Leisler at their head, who was also placed in command of the fort.*

The king, meantime, before being apprized of these proceedings, sent orders to Nicholson to continue for the present to administer affairs. But this functionary had set out for London before the instructions arrived, when Leisler, finding them addressed to the absent officer, "or to such as for the time execute the law," chose to consider them as applying to himself, and thereupon assumed the title and duties of governor. He held two assemblies, and concluded a treaty with New England, agreeing to raise 900 men for their mutual defence. But though supported by a majority, he was opposed by a powerful party, who disowned his authority, and insulted him even in the capital; while open resistance was raised in the district of Albany. The opposition was put down, but not without violent measures, which inflamed still further the enmity of its supporters, and excited a degree of general odium. William, meantime, always disposed to employ the agents of his despotic predecessor, was guided by the advice of Nicholson, and taking no notice of Leisler's

* Chalmers, p. 581-592.

pretensions, sent Colonel Sloughter to administer the government. This officer did not arrive till March 1691, when he found the other most unwilling to relinquish the reins of power, which he had held upwards of two years. Pretending that the colonel's commission was defective, and that only an authority under the king's hand could be held sufficient, he refused to surrender the fort, or own him as chief ruler. But a large party soon arrayed themselves in arms against him, while his adherents, dreading the superior influence of the mother-country, afforded only timid support. He tendered his submission; but the new governor refused it, seized his person, and issued a special commission to try him: he and his associates were condemned to death, and the sentence was executed upon himself and Milbourne his principal adviser. This punishment, considering his former services, was considered exceedingly severe. The parliament accordingly passed an act reversing the attainder; and the privy council, though they declared the sentence to be legal, recommended the restoration of the forfeited estates. There remained a strong party attached to his memory, and zealous in upholding the franchises of the colony.*

Sloughter died suddenly soon after his arrival, and was succeeded by Colonel Fletcher, an able officer, but intemperate and domineering. As the assembly strenuously maintained their privileges, he was speedily involved in violent contests with them; arising chiefly out of his attempt to introduce an episcopal establishment, to which he was bigotedly attached. By great exertions, he contrived to obtain an act of assembly sanctioning it; but that body annexed a clause giving to the people the entire choice of their own ministers. On this occasion he made a violent speech, calling them stubborn, ill-tempered, and unmannerly; alleging that, instead of a third of the legislative power, to which they were entitled, they sought to engross the whole, exclud-

* Chalmers, pp. 592-594, 611, 612.

ing both the council and governor; taunting them, at the same time, with their large allowance of 10s. a-day, and the strictness with which they exacted it. Another favourite object was to obtain the command of the militia of Connecticut; but when he went thither, the colonists, following an old precedent, caused the drums to beat, by which his voice was entirely drowned. Astonished at this determination, he thought it best to retreat to his own jurisdiction; and the legal authorities at home decided against him. At length, finding that the American assemblies were not to be intimidated, he gave up the attempt, and his latter years were tranquil.*

In 1698, he was succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who, having been highly popular in New England, seems to have desired to pursue a similar course in this colony. Unfortunately, he found it rent by the most violent dissensions between the partisans of the unfortunate Leisler and their aristocratic opponents. He studied to sooth the former, and aided in procuring from the assembly a grant of £1000 to the son of that leader. His administration, however, was too short to enable him to overcome the prevailing dissensions. It was unfortunate for him that Kidd, whom he employed in the important object of suppressing piracy, betrayed his trust, and became himself a robber on the high seas, for which he was sent to Britain, tried, and executed.

Bellamont died in 1701, and was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, a degenerate descendant of the Earl of Clarendon. Entirely opposite to his predecessor, he showed an imbittered enmity to the popular party, accompanied by a bigoted attachment to episcopacy, and hatred of all other forms of religion. He seconded also the attempts made by Dudley to subvert the charter of Connecticut. Indulging in extravagant habits, he squandered large sums of the public money, and contracted debts, the payment of which his official situation enabled him to evade. He thus rendered himself odious and contempt-

* Grahame, vol. ii. p. 232-236.

ible to all parties, who united in a firm remonstrance to Queen Anne, and induced her to revoke his commission. No longer protected by the privileges of office, he was thrown into prison, and obtained liberation only when the death of his father raised him to the peerage.*

Lord Lovelace succeeded, who, on his arrival, made a demand, destined to cause much dissension, for a permanent salary to the governor. Yet his general deportment was popular and satisfactory; but he lived only a few months. The reins were then held for a short time by Ingoldsby, who also made himself very acceptable; and in 1710, the office was filled by Sir Robert Hunter, a man of wit and talent, by which he had raised himself from a low rank in society. He went out, however, strongly imbued with the monarchical principle, and determined to resist the claims of the assembly. In advancing the demand for a fixed income, he made use of very offensive expressions, insinuating doubts of their right to appropriate the public money, and suspicions that it was the government, not the governor, whom they disliked. In the council also, the doctrine was advanced, that the assembly existed only "by the mere grace of the crown." The latter body strenuously vindicated their rights, and refused to grant more than a temporary provision. They remonstrated strongly also against the establishment of a court of chancery, suspected to be with a view of increasing his emoluments. On this ground there seemed great hazard of a collision; but Hunter, being a sensible man, and seeing their very strong determination, deemed it expedient to yield; and, during his latter years, he studied with success to maintain harmony among the different branches of the administration.

He was succeeded by Burnet, a son of the celebrated bishop and historian, an accomplished amiable man. He appears to have zealously studied the welfare of the colony; he became very generally popular; and was particularly successful in gaining over the Indian tribes.

* Grahame, vol. ii. p. 240-250.

His attempt, however, to maintain the obnoxious court of chancery, involved him in violent disputes with the assembly. On the advice of a few patriotic but indiscreet individuals, he adopted the injurious measure of prohibiting all commercial intercourse between New York and Canada. The pretext was, that the French merchants bought up the furs brought to Albany and other markets in the interior. This, if true, must have arisen from the fact that they dealt on more liberal terms than the English; yet the latter were so far from demanding this monopoly, that they exclaimed against it as ruinous to them, making such loud complaints, that in 1720 Burnet was removed, though compensated with the government of Massachusetts.

After a short interval, the direction of affairs was assumed in 1732 by Colonel Cosby, a man of such a violent character as created general aversion to him. Strong interest was excited by the trial of Zenger, editor of a journal which had attacked his administration; but through the exertions of Hamilton, an eminent advocate, he was triumphantly acquitted. Cosby died in 1736, and was followed by Clarke, who, having given scarcely more satisfaction, yielded the place in 1741 to Clinton, who ruled upwards of ten years with considerable success and popularity. His successor, Sir Danvers Osborne, suffered severely by the discovery, in 1754, of very arbitrary instructions transmitted to him from home. A great ferment was thus kindled, but gradually subsided; and we shall find New York by no means forward in the cause of independence.*

New Jersey, being a branch detached from the state just named, will be considered most advantageously in connexion with that colony. When Nichols, in 1664, made the conquest of the united territory, the tract along the seacoast, from the west end of Long Island to the Delaware, appeared to him the most favourable for settlement. He invited thither farmers from New

* Grahame, vol. iii. pp. 43, 57, 97, 231, 377.

England, who already displayed a migratory and enterprising character, and going in considerable numbers, formed along the shore a range of villages. While Nichols, however, was exulting in the success of these efforts, he was struck with dismay by a commission being presented to him, in which the Duke of York constituted Lords Berkeley and Carteret proprietors of this whole line of coast. It had been granted even before the news of the conquest arrived, and it may be presumed that a pecuniary consideration was given, though nothing transpired on that subject. Chagrined beyond measure, he addressed to the duke a long letter, complaining that he had unguardedly parted with the most valuable portion of his patent, leaving New York almost without a territory. Not choosing to accuse the proprietors of having deceived his Grace, he throws the blame on a Captain Scot, who he declares was born to work mischief. The grantees, it is urged, should be made to accept a tract of 100,000 acres on the Delaware, which, by an expenditure of £20,000, might yield profit, not to themselves perhaps, but to their children's children. The duke, however, honourably determined to adhere to his engagement.*

The proprietors, in order to invite settlers, granted franchises of some importance. One was an assembly, half at least of the members of which were to be representatives, and without whose consent no tax could be imposed. The owners reserved to themselves the veto and judicial appointments; but they permitted full freedom of religious worship. Carteret went out as governor, and in compliment to him the colony was called New Jersey. The profit of the proprietors was to arise solely from a quit-rent of 1d. an acre, to be levied only at the end of five years. All went on smoothly till that term arrived, when the settlers, being called upon for payment, showed very little disposition to comply. They urged, that they had purchased their lands from the Indians, and it was extremely hard, after advancing a price, to be required to give a rent also. Discontents rose

* Chalmers, pp. 613-615, 624, 625. Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

so high, that Carteret was obliged to leave the colony, and a natural son of his own was elected in his room. Soon afterwards, the country was conquered by the Dutch; and on its restoration next year, the people peaceably received back their old governor, who gratified them by postponing to a later period the demand for quit-rents, and by other concessions. The proprietors, however, were considerably annoyed by the rulers of New York, who, claiming rights of jurisdiction and taxation, particularly sought to prevent any trade, unless through the medium of their capital. James does not seem to have been disposed to sanction any actual breach of the original contract; and Jones, the chief-justice, reported on the most essential points in favour of the settlers. The local power, however, of the greater colony, wielded by the impetuous Andros, was successfully exerted to harass them in various modes.

Meantime, as late as 1674, Lord Berkeley, disappointed in the hopes with which he had embarked in the undertaking, sold half his territory for £1000 to a party of quakers, among whom the chief were Byllinge, Fenwick, and William Penn. In arranging with Carteret, who still retained his share, it was found most convenient to divide the province into two parts; these were called East and West Jersey,—the latter being assigned to the new owners. But the duke, whose concurrence was required to the transaction, took the opportunity of re-asserting his dominion over that portion, which was subjected to the arbitrary rule and taxation of New York. Jones, however, decided that, there having been no reservation of such claims in the original grant, they could not be now legally enforced. Hence, in 1680, the province was delivered in full right to the proprietors, whose object was to render the place an asylum for the persecuted quakers, a considerable number of whom were soon assembled. It became necessary to gratify them by a constitution, based on principles of liberty and even of equality; and they made pretensions to the election of their own governor.

In 1682, Carteret, finding little satisfaction in his possession of New Jersey, sold all his rights to another body of twelve quakers, Penn being again one. The new owners, with a view to extend their influence, added to their number twelve more of different professions,—the principal of whom was the Duke of Perth, a nobleman of great power in Scotland. His object was to offer an asylum to the presbyterians of that country, under the iniquitous persecution to which they were exposed. Hunted like wild beasts from place to place, it was justly thought that many would gladly accept a home in the New World. A considerable number were accordingly conveyed thither, and they formed a laborious, useful, and respectable class of settlers.

Nothing, however, could secure them against the determination formed by James to subvert the rights of all the colonies, and establish in them a completely despotic administration. Andros, without any express authority, began to exercise both jurisdiction and taxation; and as these were strenuously resisted,—the juries refusing to convict under them,—complaints were sent home of their insubordination. The duke hereupon, forgetting all his former pledges, ordered, in April 1686, that writs of *quo warranto* should be entered against both East and West Jersey, "which ought to be more dependent on his majesty." The proprietors, having in vain attempted to deprecate this measure, at length deemed it expedient to surrender their patent, only soliciting a grant securing their title to the soil: but, before the transaction could be completed, it was interrupted by the Revolution, which left them in the possession of all their claims. They acted on them so feebly, however, that the country is represented as remaining nearly in a state of anarchy till 1702, when they were induced to surrender all their political powers to the crown. The two Jerseys were then reunited, and were governed from that time as a royal colony.*

* Chalmers, p. 616-623. Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 316, 359. Grahame, vol. ii. p. 298.

CHAPTER IX.

Carolina and Georgia.

Early Settlements—Liberal Grant by Charles II.—Constitution formed by Shaftesbury and Locke—Ill received—Discontents—Progress of Settlement—Various Disturbances—Constitution annulled—Attack on St Augustine—Spanish Invasion—Great Indian War—Internal Commotions—Nicholson—Colony reverts to the Crown—Separation of the Carolinas—Foundation of Georgia—Oglethorpe—Indian Treaties—Internal Restrictions—Wesley and Whitefield—Attack on St Augustine—Retaliation—Georgia becomes a royal Colony.

While emigration proceeded so actively in various parts of North America, the regions south of Virginia, though of vast extent, and presenting many natural advantages, had attracted little attention. The Spaniards, as long as they could, jealously guarded this coast; and the bloody catastrophe of the first French settlement was long remembered with terror. Raleigh's original establishment had been formed within this range; and its tragical results, though not connected with the situation, threw a gloom over all the recollections associated with it. Yet flattering rumours were still spread; and as the older settlements became crowded, detachments began to overflow into this unoccupied tract. The river Nansemond, on the immediate border of Virginia, had been very early settled; and colonists thence found their way to the banks of the Chowan and the shores of Albemarle Sound. Much farther to the south, a body of enterprising New Englanders had purchased from the Indians a district around Cape Fear. Sir Robert Heath, in 1630,

obtained a patent; but having been unable to fulfil the conditions, it was declared forfeited.*

The reign of Charles II. was a period of large grants; for, having many claims upon him while he had little to give, he was ready to bestow colonial rights. On the 24th March 1663, the whole coast, from the 36th degree of latitude to the river San Matheo, was granted under the name of Carolina to a body of highly distinguished personages, among whom were Monk, duke of Albemarle, Lord Clarendon, Lord Ashley Cooper afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Berkeley, and his brother Sir William, governor of Virginia. Their privileges were as usual extensive, and seem to have been in a great measure copied from those granted in the case of Maryland. The present occupants could only be considered as squatters; yet as men were much wanted, the utmost encouragement was given to them to remain, while others were invited. Political and personal immunities, more ample than were possessed by the neighbouring colonies, or were satisfactory to the views of some of the proprietors, were not withheld. Berkeley, who brought additional emigrants from Virginia to Albemarle Sound, placed them under Drummond, a prudent and popular governor. A party of planters from Barbadoes, induced to remove to this congenial climate, were settled on Cape Fear river, near the New Englanders, and ruled by Sir John Yeamans, one of their own number. A few shipbuilders were also obtained from the Bermudas.

In 1665, the proprietors, still in high favour with Charles, obtained a new patent with much larger privileges. Their territory was now, without regard to Spanish claims, extended to the Pacific, while they were empowered to create titles and orders of nobility. This appears to have been preparatory to the formation of what was intended to be a monument of human wisdom,—a constitution for the new colony. It was undertaken by Shaftesbury, the ablest statesman of the age,

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 130-133.

who employed upon it Locke, the illustrious philosopher; and its object was to transport into the New World the varied ranks and aristocratic establishments of Europe. Two orders of nobility were to be instituted, the higher of landgraves or earls, the lower of caciques or barons. The territory was to be divided into counties, each containing 480,000 acres, with one landgrave and two caciques, a number never to be increased nor diminished. There were also to be lords of manors, entitled, like the nobles, to hold courts, and exercise judicial functions. Those possessing 50 acres were to be freeholders; but the tenants held no political franchise, and could never attain any higher rank. All the Estates were to sit in one chamber. The proprietary were always to continue eight in number, to possess the whole judicial power, and have the supreme direction of all the tribunals. One was to take cognizance of ceremonies and pedigrees, of fashions and sports. But it is needless to enter into farther details of a constitution which never did nor could have any practical existence. It must remain a striking proof how unfit the ablest men are to legislate for a society with whose condition and circumstances they are not intimately acquainted.*

Nothing could exceed the surprise of the colonists when this elaborate system was transmitted to them, with an urgent call for its immediate adoption. Albemarle, the chief settlement, could scarcely number 1400 *working hands;* how then was it to furnish its landgraves, its caciques, its barons? The proprietors, on a representation of this state of affairs, were obliged to own that their magnificent system could not yet be carried into full execution; but they required its introduction so far as circumstances allowed, and its completion to be kept constantly in view. Meanwhile, a series of temporary laws were established, until the inhabitants should be ripe for the fundamental constitutions. They had formed, however, a simple code adapted to their circumstances,

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 136-147. Chalmers, p. 517-526.

which they preferred to one by which the popular privileges were materially abridged; and its abrogation for a merely provisional system would have taken away every thing stable and permanent in their political position. As Miller, who acted as administrator and collector of the revenue, had not given them satisfaction, they rose in a body, imprisoned him and most of the council, seized the public funds, appointed magistrates and judges, called a parliament, and in short took into their hands all the functions of government. Culpepper, the ringleader, came to England to plead their cause, a step which certainly does not seem to indicate consciousness of guilt; but he was arrested and brought to trial for high treason. Shaftesbury, by his eloquence and popular influence, procured his acquittal, pleading that there had been no regular government in Albemarle, so that these disorders could only be considered as feuds among the several planters.

The proprietors found themselves in an embarrassing situation, unwilling to yield to the colonists and renounce their darling constitutions, yet neither desirous nor very able to reduce them by force. They resolved, therefore, to send out as governor Seth Sothel, one of their own body, who had previously purchased Lord Clarendon's share, and whose territorial rights would, they hoped, command respect. According to Chalmers, the annals of delegated authority include no name so infamous as that of this new administrator; a remark which is probably too strong, for he had to deal with persons not easily pleased. It would appear, however, that his sole object was to advance his fortune, at the expense both of the colonists and of his fellow-proprietors. The former soon practised the lesson which they had already learned. They deposed him, seized his person, and were about to send him to England to answer to the owners for the charges brought against him. Sothel preferred to abide the judgment of the assembly themselves; a circumstance which, joined to the sentence, seems to indicate that his conduct was not extremely atrocious. After find-

ing all the accusations proven, they merely banished him from the colony for a single year, and declared him incapable of ever again holding the office of governor. The proprietors, though troubled at these stretches of power, yet owning the complaints to be just, and having been themselves wronged, sanctioned the proceedings, and nominated Philip Ludwell as their representative.*

Meantime, they were bestowing a more special attention on the southern colony. In 1670, they sent out a considerable number of settlers under William Sayle, who was named governor. He died soon after, and his place was supplied by Sir John Yeamans, once a Barbadoes planter, who had acquired a good reputation in his command at Cape Fear. He was speedily accused, however, of sordid proceedings, in carrying on all the little trade of the colony for his own advantage. Affairs were in many respects unsatisfactory. The proprietors, like other similar bodies, already discovered that the colony, instead of a mine of wealth, was a constant drain; they had expended on it upwards of £18,000, without any return, but, on the contrary, had to encounter new demands. They were therefore not unwilling to remove Yeamans in order to make room for West, a favourite of the settlers. During his residence of eight years, he enjoyed a popularity rare among transatlantic rulers. The colony flourished; for, besides emigrants sent over by the proprietors, a considerable tide flowed in from various quarters. The poor cavaliers, considering it to have been founded upon their own principles, sought it as a place where they might retrieve their fortunes. A number of Dutch in New York, dissatisfied with their transference to British rule, thought, it scarcely appears for what reason, that they would be more at ease in this new settlement; and some of their countrymen from Europe were induced to follow. The revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the persecution of the protestants by Louis XIV. during his bigoted dotage, drove out a large

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 151-164. Chalmers, p. 533-540.

body of most respectable emigrants. A small party proceeded from Ireland, and another from Scotland under Lord Cardross; but the latter were unfortunate, being nearly all destroyed by the Indians. This influx was considered to afford an inducement for the erection of a city. One was early founded on a high ground, above Ashley River, named Charleston; but afterwards another spot, called Oyster Point, at the junction of that stream with the Cooper, was considered so much more eligible, that the site was changed. The choice was happy; and it has since become the chief emporium of the southern states.*

West was succeeded, in 1682, by Moreton, and the latter, in 1686, by Colleton, a brother of one of the proprietors, and endowed with the rank of landgrave. Under these governors, the spirit of faction, which had in some degree slumbered, broke forth with extreme violence. An obstinate dispute was waged between the three counties of Berkeley, Craven, and Colleton, respecting the number of members that should be sent from each to the assembly: that body also proposed two acts which cannot be applauded, with a view to relieve the scarcity of money. It was the purpose of the one to raise the value of the coin, and of the other to suspend the payment of foreign debts. The first was carried, whence arose a depreciation of the Carolina currency, which afterwards became extreme. The other was rejected by the proprietors with reprobation. This was not well brooked by the assembly, who began to contest the legality of the fundamental constitutions, and to demand their original charter. Discontents ran so high, that the people, in 1687, elected an assembly expressly to resist whatever the governor should propose; and, in 1690, they passed an act banishing him from the province. Amid this ferment, appeared Seth Sothel, the rejected of North Carolina; and such was the influence of party, that he found no difficulty in

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 168-182. Chalmers, p. 529-531.

occupying the place of his unpopular predecessor, and in calling a parliament, which sanctioned all his proceedings. The proprietors were beyond measure astonished to hear of such a person setting up against them as a leader supported by the people. They sent out the strictest orders for his immediate recall, appointing in his place Philip Ludwell, with instructions, however, to examine and report as to any real grievances. The chief complaint was found to be against "the fundamental constitutions;" and as there appeared no serious prospect of carrying into execution that famous code, it was, in 1693, finally abrogated. Caciques, landgraves, and barons were swept away, and the labours of Shaftesbury and Locke were given to the winds. It may be observed that James II., on his usual despotic principle, had prepared a *quo warranto* against the charter; but the proprietors, opening a treaty for its surrender, on condition of replacing the funds expended on it, spun out the affair till that monarch became no longer an object of dread.*

These arrangements did not fully secure tranquillity; and a new source of dissension was afforded by the numerous body of French protestant refugees. Most of the original settlers, zealously attached to the church of England, viewed with aversion both their religious and national peculiarities, and refused to admit them to the rights of citizenship. At this treatment they were justly indignant; and disputes rose so high, that the proprietors sent out one of their own body, John Archdale, a quaker, with full power to investigate and redress grievances. He conducted himself with great prudence, and, though he could not procure for the new comers all the desired privileges, succeeded in greatly allaying their discontent. After remaining a year, he left as his successor Joseph Blake, who steadily pursued the same system, by which, in a few years, the parties were reconciled, and the French admitted to all the rights of citizens.†

* Chalmers, p. 550-552.

† Grahame, vol. ii. p. 135-141. Bancroft, vol. iii. pp. 18, 19.

Blake died in 1700, and was succeeded by Moore, who, two years after, sought to distinguish himself by the capture of the French capital of St Augustine. He himself, with the main force, proceeded by sea, while Colonel Daniel, with a party of militia and Indians, marched by land. The latter arrived first, and took possession of the town, obliging the enemy to retreat into the castle; but the governor considered that post so strong, as to render it necessary to send to Jamaica for more artillery. On the appearance, however, of two Spanish ships, he was seized with a panic alleged to be groundless, and precipitately raising the siege, returned by land to Carolina. This repulse was not only very mortifying, but entailed on the colony a heavy debt, which it could ill bear.*

In 1706, the Spaniards endeavoured to retaliate, and, aided by their French allies, equipped a considerable armament. Their admiral, Le Feboure, with five ships of war, forthwith summoned the capital; but the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had, with great spirit, though inadequate means, prepared for defence, sent an indignant defiance. The invader, whose main land-force had not yet arrived, imprudently sent on shore a small detachment, which was immediately attacked and cut off. This success inspired such courage, that Captain Rhett, with six small vessels, sailed against the enemy, who, struck with alarm, immediately retired. Soon after, an additional armament appeared, and a body of troops were landed; but the English, flushed with victory, attacked them with such resolution, that both they and their ships were captured.

After some years of repose, the colony was involved in all the horrors of Indian war; the origin of which is difficult to trace, though the settlers throw the whole blame upon the natives. It is manifest that they waged it with deep treachery and ferocity, and yet there seems room to suspect that they had heavy wrongs to avenge. The

* Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 209.

first burst was from the Tuscororas, on the frontier of North Carolina, whose attack against the settlements on the Roanoke was made with the usual secrecy and rapidity, and above a hundred perished before measures of defence could be adopted. This was all that could be done till aid was procured from South Carolina, whence Captain Barnwell, with 600 militia and 360 Indians, penetrated the intervening wilderness, defeated the enemy, and pursuing them to their main fortress, obliged them to surrender. They soon after migrated northwards, and formed a union with the Five Nations.

A more formidable struggle awaited South Carolina. The Indians on its border had long been united with the colonists in alliance and common hostility to the Spaniards. When the treaty of Utrecht had terminated the European war with the latter people, the natives soon announced that they had dined with the governor of Florida, and washed his face,—a sure pledge of alliance. The colonists, who did not suspect that the enmity was to be transferred to them, allege that it was fomented by their old enemies; but the charge seems scarcely supported by any overt act. Certain it is, that the Yamassees, Creeks, Cherokees, and all the tribes from Cape Fear to the shores of the gulf, amounting to 6000 men, became united in one grand confederacy to exterminate the English name. Their preparations were enveloped as usual in profound secrecy; and, even on the previous evening, when some suspicious circumstances were noticed, they gave the most friendly explanation. In the morning the work of blood commenced in the vicinity of Port-Royal, where about ninety of the planters perished; but the people of the place, happily finding a vessel in the harbour, crowded on board, and were conveyed to Charleston. The Indians collected from all sides, and advanced upon that capital; two detachments, which attempted to stop their progress, were surprised or ensnared, and suffered severely. Craven, the governor, however, having mustered 1200 men fit to bear arms, succeeded in stopping their progress; upon which, having

collected all his strength, and receiving a reinforcement from North Carolina, he marched to the attack of their grand camp. The struggle was long and fierce,—the Indians having stationed themselves in a broken and entangled spot, fitted for their wild manœuvres. At length they were completely defeated, and soon after driven beyond the limits of the colony.*

The termination of this contest was immediately followed by violent internal disturbances. The settlers had many grounds of complaint against the proprietors, who had not afforded any pecuniary aid during the late sanguinary contest. At its close the assembly passed acts bestowing the lands whence the Indians had been expelled upon such persons as might choose to occupy them; on the faith of which a party of 500 emigrated from Ireland. But the proprietary annulling this grant, caused them to be ejected, and the tract divided into baronies for their own benefit. They disallowed other laws, which the colonists were extremely desirous to obtain, and sent orders to the governor to sanction none which had not been previously submitted to themselves. They reposed their entire confidence in Trott, the chief-justice, who was even accused of malversation in his office; but the complaints against him from the people, and even the governor, were disdainfully rejected. This discontent, long fermenting, broke out openly on a report of invasion from the Havannah. In this emergency the assembly refused to vote any supplies; a bond of union was drawn up, and signed by almost all the inhabitants. They transmitted a proposal to Johnson that he should continue to hold his office in the name of the king; but as he declined the offer, Colonel Moore was elected. The other made some attempts to compel submission, but found his force inadequate. The issue of the whole transaction, however, depended on the view which might be taken by the crown, always disposed to favour any arrangement

* Grahame, vol. iii. pp. 37, 55, 75-79.

that might extend its prerogative. The king, being absent in Hanover, had left the government in the hands of a regency, who, on examining the case, decided that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered proceedings to be instituted for its dissolution. Acting certainly with great promptitude, as if this were already effected, they named Sir Francis Nicholson governor, under a commission from his majesty. That person, distinguished in other stations for his active talents, had been accused of arbitrary maxims; but in Carolina he seems to have laid these aside, and rendered himself extremely acceptable. He made great exertions to provide for religious instruction, and for the diffusion of education. Through an alliance with the Creeks and Cherokees, he secured the frontier, which had been considerably harassed by Indian incursions.*

We may here pause to mention, that at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the American coast, and particularly Carolina, was dreadfully infested by piracy. The long war between France and Spain, aided by the vicinity of the West Indies, afforded large scope for privateers. After the peace, they were unwilling to relinquish so lucrative an occupation; and, exercising it equally on friends and foes, spread desolation over all those shores. The governors, it is said, instead of striving to suppress the disorder, often secretly favoured it, and shared in the profits. James II., in 1687, equipped a small fleet under Sir Robert Holmes, who considerably checked the evil; but it again broke out with augmented violence, especially after the treaty of Utrecht. John Theach, called Blackbeard, equally frightful in his aspect and character, became a sort of pirate-king,—the idol of his followers, and the terror of all peaceable merchants. In 1718, George I. despatched a squadron under Woodes Rogers, who took the island of New Providence in the Bahamas, long a kind of outlawed capital. The pirates attempted to form another strong-

* Grahame, vol. iii. pp. 79, 94, 130.

hold at the mouth of Cape Fear river, but were driven from it by the governor of Carolina. Rogers was empowered, in case of submission, to offer pardon to those who should surrender, of which most availed themselves; though some afterwards resumed their vocation, and among them Theach himself, who was soon, however, defeated and killed. In the course of the five subsequent years, twenty-six suffered death for this offence.*

In 1729, the transactions of the proprietors were finally closed by a deed surrendering all their rights into the hands of the crown. They received in return £17,500, with £5000 for arrears of rent amounting to £9000; but Lord Carteret, while resigning all political power, preferred to retain his claim to property in the soil, of which an ample portion was assigned to him. The colonists were gratified by the entire remission of their quit-rents. In 1694, the captain of a vessel from Madagascar, having touched at Carolina, had presented the governor with a bag of rice, which, being distributed among several farmers, throve so remarkably, that it had already become a staple of the settlement; and the privilege was now granted of exporting this article direct to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. North and South Carolina, too, which in point of fact had always been distinct, and their occupied parts even distant from each other, were now finally declared to be two colonies, each to have its separate governor.

From this era their affairs held a pretty uniform course, diversified only as the character of the successive governors was popular or otherwise. They continued to draw numerous bodies of emigrants; and their career, both of agriculture and commerce, was extremely prosperous. This, it is painful to add, was in a great measure effected by large importations of negro slaves, which enabled the wealthy to cultivate plantations on an extensive scale, and without personal labour. It appears also that reproach was incurred by the harshness with

* Chalmers, pp. 546, 557. Grahame, vol. iii. p. 88-91.

which these captives were treated; and serious alarms of insurrection were entertained. To guard against this danger, they petitioned, in 1742, to be allowed to raise and maintain three independent companies; a boon which, though refused at first, was finally granted. These colonies derived a considerable accession from the rebellion of 1745, at the close of which many adherents of the vanquished cause were allowed to seek shelter in the western plantations, and induced by various circumstances to prefer the Carolinas. The discovery of indigo, as a native production, afforded, in addition to rice, another article for which a sure demand would be found in Europe. About the middle of the eighteenth century, too, when the other colonies began to have at least their best lands appropriated, this, which was still comparatively unoccupied, drew settlers from them, especially from Pennsylvania. Although estates along the coast were become scarce, valuable tracts remained in the interior, to which these American emigrants were pleased to resort.

After all that had been done before 1732 for the peopling of Carolina, there remained a large district between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, claimed by Britain, yet completely uninhabited. This disadvantage was more felt from its being bordered, not only by powerful Indian tribes, but by the Spaniards in Florida and the French in Louisiana; both having claims which, if circumstances favoured, they could plausibly advance. The planters were particularly anxious to have a settlement formed, that might stand like a wall between them and these troublesome neighbours, but were much at a loss for persons who would voluntarily station themselves in a situation so unpleasant. Circumstances arose in England which afforded a prospect of supplying this want. A body of distinguished individuals, under the impulse of humanity,

"Redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail."

General Oglethorpe, a soldier, brave, honourable, and humane, moved an inquiry, in 1728, into the treatment

General Oglethorpe.

and condition of persons confined in the prisons of England, and in the following year presented a report upon this subject. It was found that, under the extremely bad management then prevalent, many persons imprisoned for debt or minor offences were treated most tyrannically, deprived of common comforts, and their morals farther injured by the associates with whom they were compelled to mingle. Many of them, even if liberated, could not have returned to the world with any prospect of comfort or advantage; and hence it occurred that to them a residence in the new continent might form an extremely desirable change. They could not be fastidious as to the situation, and might there be formed into military colonies, as a barrier to the other states. The conversion and im-

provement of the Indians entered into this generous plan. It was intrusted to a body of eminent persons, who undertook to act as trustees, not entering, like former associations, into a mercantile speculation for profit, but from philanthropic motives devoting their time and contributions to the object. They were to administer the colony during twenty-one years, after which it was to revert to the crown. It was named Georgia, from the reigning monarch; and Oglethorpe, with whom the whole scheme had originated, undertook to act gratuitously as governor. A general enthusiasm prevailed throughout the nation; large sums were subscribed by benevolent individuals; and parliament, in the course of two years, voted £36,000 for the purpose.*

In the end of 1732, Oglethorpe, with a party of a hundred and sixteen, sailed for the new settlement. Having touched on their way at South Carolina, his followers were most hospitably received; and on their arrival, he made it his first object to conciliate the neighbouring Indians, belonging to the powerful race of the Creeks. His efforts, guided by sincerity and discretion, were crowned with success. He prevailed upon Tomochichi, the head of this savage confederacy, to meet him at Savannah, accompanied by fifty other petty chiefs, called kings. This aged person, expressing his ideas as usual by outward symbols, presented to the governor the skin of a buffalo, on the inside of which the head and feathers of an eagle were painted. This indicated the swiftness and power of the English, and also, by its softness and warmth, the love and protection which the Indians expected from them. This chief was even induced to visit Britain, where he met with many attentions, and had an audience of George II., whom he presented with a bunch of eagles' feathers, saying, "These are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace. O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will

* Grahame, vol. iii. p. 180-184.

faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." In 1734, the town of Augusta was founded on the Upper Savannah, with a view to local trade. During the same year, two successive parties went out, amounting to 500 or 600, of whom 100 defrayed their own expenses. About 150 Highlanders were induced to join the colony, being well fitted for its military objects. A party of Moravians also arrived, whose industrious habits were likely to be of great advantage; and by a report of the trustees in 1740, it appeared that 2500 emigrants had been sent out, at an expense of £80,000. John and Charles Wesley, then only known as zealous clergymen, were prevailed upon to accept livings in the colony.

Notwithstanding these promising appearances, and this most zealous support, Georgia did not prosper. The proprietors began with a series of regulations, well meant indeed, but carried to an extreme, and with little attention to existing circumstances. A complete prohibition was imposed on the introduction of rum, and even on all commercial intercourse with the West Indies. The importation of negroes was forbidden; a laudable measure, but indignantly endured by the colonists, who saw much wealth accruing to Carolina from their employment. The lands were most injudiciously granted in small lots of twenty-five acres, on condition of military service, and with that view descending only to heirs-male. The settlers soon began to display those faults which, from their previous condition, might have been anticipated. Complaints were made against the Wesleys for their extreme rigidness, their peculiar forms of worship, and for giving their confidence to unworthy persons, who made false pretences of piety. Feuds rose so high, that both left the colony. Whitefield, founder of the rival sect of Methodists, went out in 1740, with a particular view to establish an orphan asylum, which did not succeed; but his zealous and eloquent though somewhat rude addresses produced a strong impression, and were supposed to effect considerable good.*

* Grahame, vol. iii. p. 187-210. Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 427-430.

Affairs were rendered still farther critical by the Spanish war, which, after long irritation and petty aggression, broke out in 1738. Oglethorpe determined to attack St Augustine, the capital of Florida. Great preparations were made for this enterprise; Virginia and the Carolinas furnished a regiment, as well as £120,000 currency; and an Indian force undertook to assist. The governor, who was thus enabled to make an invasion with 2000 men, reduced two successive forts; but the castle of St Augustine itself was found too strongly fortified to allow a reasonable hope of reducing it unless by blockade. This he expected to accomplish by the aid of a strong flotilla, which came to co-operate with him. It proved, however, a very discouraging service for his undisciplined warriors; and the Indians, disgusted by an expression which escaped him, of horror at their cruelty, went off. The Highlanders, his best troops, were surprised, and a number cut to pieces; while the militia lost courage, broke the restraints of discipline, and deserted in great numbers. It proved impossible to prevent the enemy from procuring a reinforcement and large supply of provisions. In short, matters were in so adverse a state, that he had no alternative but to raise the siege, and return with his armament seriously shattered, and his reputation impaired.*

The Spaniards, two years after, in 1742, attempted to retaliate, and Monteano, governor of St Augustine, with thirty-two vessels and 3000 men, advanced to attack Frederica. Oglethorpe's force was very inadequate, and the aid from the north both scanty and very slow in arriving; yet he acted so as completely to redeem his military character. By skilfully using all the advantages of his situation, he kept the enemy at bay; then by various stratagems conveyed such an exaggerated idea both of his actual force and expected reinforcements, that they ultimately abandoned the enterprise, without having made one serious attack.†

* Grahame, vol. iii. p. 211-217. † Ibid. p. 215-220.

Georgia was thus delivered from foreign dangers; but she continued to suffer under her internal evils. The colonists complained that absurd regulations debarred them from rendering their productions available, and kept them in poverty. Numbers removed to South Carolina, where they were free from restraint; and the Moravians, being called upon to take arms contrary to their principles, departed for Pennsylvania. Great efforts were made, as formerly in Virginia, to produce silk, but for the same reasons without any success. In 1752, the twenty-one years had expired; and the trustees finding that their well-meant endeavours had produced only misery and discontent, relinquished the charge. Georgia became a royal colony, and the people were left at full liberty to use all the means, good and bad, of advancing themselves; lands were held on any tenure that best pleased them; negroes and rum were imported without restriction; and a free intercourse was opened with the West Indies. Thenceforth it was on a footing with South Carolina, and advanced with equally rapid steps, but exhibiting a somewhat ruder character.

CHAPTER X.

General Affairs of the Colonies to the Peace in 1763.

The Colonies originally unconnected—Only united against France—Collisions in Canada and Nova Scotia—French Settlements in the Western Territory—Washington's Mission thither—He proceeds with a Military Force—Events of the Campaign—Plans for an Union of the Colonies—Braddock's Expedition and Defeat—Sir William Johnson's Exploits—Success of the French under Montcalm—Vigorous Measures of Pitt—Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec—French evacuate the Western Territory—Are obliged to cede Canada—Progress of the Colonies in Population—In Commerce—Tables.

The colonies, of which we have thus delineated the origin and progress, down to the close of the war in 1763 were altogether unconnected. Each had been founded on a separate basis, by distinct and even hostile classes. Between neighbouring communities, where no sentiment of unity reigns, jealousies almost inevitably arise; and these were aggravated by boundary disputes and other contending claims. Some governors, particularly Nicholson, recommended the union of several of them under one head; but these were men of arbitrary temper, who urged this measure on the home administration as a mode of extending the power of the crown, and keeping down the increasing spirit of independence. Such communications, when they transpired, heightened not a little the antipathy already felt to the proposed measure.

There was, however, one object by which all the colonies were roused to a most zealous co-operation. It might have seemed a hardship that the successive wars

between Britain and France should be transferred to their rising settlements beyond the Atlantic; but the inhabitants by no means felt it as such, and required only permission, in order to rush with fury against each other. The old national antipathy was remarkably strong in this ruder society; the difference of creed made the contests be viewed somewhat as religious wars; and the contrast between an absolute and a free government appeared peculiarly striking on the English side, where maxims almost republican prevailed. At first the colonies followed in the footsteps of the mother-country; but as their magnitude and importance increased, the flame arose among themselves, and was thence communicated to Europe.

Even so early as 1629, Sir David Kirk, having equipped a fleet, surprised and took Quebec; but that infant settlement, to which little value was then attached, was restored at the peace in 1632.* A severe collision, however, arose in consequence of the support afforded by the English from New York to the Five Nations, in the long and terrible war waged by them against the French in Canada. It was mostly carried on by skirmishes, in a covert manner, and without regular sanction from either power. But after the Revolution of 1688, open hostilities ensued between the two nations, and Britain again determined to strike a blow against the enemy's power beyond the Atlantic. Acadia was subdued with little resistance, and Sir William Phipps, with thirty-four vessels and a large body of troops, reached Quebec. He did not, however, display the requisite promptitude; and through the able defence made by Count Frontenac, was obliged to reimbark without effecting his object. An attempt against Montreal was also defeated by the ability of Des Callières. The contest was suspended by the peace of 1697, when, to the great discontent of the inhabitants, Acadia was restored to France. During the war of the Spanish succession, two expeditions, the one in 1704, and the other in

* See fuller particulars in British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Nos. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.), vol. i. p. 129.

1707, failed in achieving the conquest of that province; but General Nicholson, in September 1710, finally annexed it, under the title of Nova Scotia, to the British crown. He proceeded afterwards to make a grand effort against the Canadian capital, which was frustrated by the shipwreck of his squadron near the Seven Islands. Still the force of England was considered so superior, that she must ultimately have triumphed, had not the contest been terminated in 1713 by the peace of Utrecht. France retained Canada, but was obliged to cede Acadia and Newfoundland; also to make over to Britain her claims to the sovereignty of the Five Nations.*

A long peace now followed, and though jealousies continued, no open hostilities ensued till 1744, when the war, which Britain had for several years waged with Spain, was extended to France. The latter power, though deprived of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, had retained Cape Breton, and erected upon it Louisburg, which, by an expenditure of £1,200,000, was supposed to have been rendered one of the strongest of modern fortresses. The New England colonies, however, having, with characteristic ardour, determined to attack it, raised 4000 men, and placed them under the command of Colonel Pepperel, who, on the 30th April 1745, took the enemy somewhat by surprise. Being seconded by the fleet under Admiral Warren, he in seven weeks reduced this grand bulwark of their power in America; and though they made several vigorous efforts, they did not succeed in retrieving this disaster. Nevertheless, at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the colonists had the mortification to see the fruits of their valour snatched from them, Cape Breton being restored in exchange for some continental advantages, which were more highly prized by the British king and ministry. They expressed the deepest discontent, and hesitated not even to charge the government at home with

* British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. pp. 152-154, 166, 167; vol. ii. p. 129-131.

a desire to maintain the power of Louis, in order to check the spirit of internal independence.*

The French, meantime, had become inspired with an eager desire to extend their North American possessions. Having at various points been brought into contact with the back settlements of their rival, they had been generally successful in gaining the alliance of the Indians, from whose warlike character important aid was expected. They made the most active movements in New Brunswick, hoping thence to penetrate into Nova Scotia, where they would find a population originally French, and still strongly attached to the country of their fathers. But the enterprises which caused the greatest inquietude took place along the Ohio and the Mississippi. The colonists had already, at different points, penetrated the barrier of the Alleghany, and begun to discover the value of the country extending to those mighty streams. The enemy, on the other hand, in virtue of certain voyages made in the preceding century by Marquette and La Salle, claimed the whole range of the Mississippi, by attaining which, their settlements in Canada and New Orleans would be formed into one continuous territory. This pretension, if referred to that peculiar law according to which Europeans have divided America among themselves, seems not wholly unfounded. They had added, however, a more exorbitant claim of all the streams falling into the great river, which would have carried them to the very summit of the Alleghany, and have hemmed in the British colonists in a manner to which they were by no means disposed to submit. The banks of the Ohio became the debateable ground on which this collision mainly took place.

The British were so confident in their right, that in 1749, an association was formed of merchants in London, combined with Virginian planters, called the Ohio Company, who received from the crown a grant of 600,000 acres on that river. Similar donations were made to

* British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. ii. p 133-136.

other parties, who could not with any degree of safety turn them to account, in the face of such pretensions as the French advanced and showed a determination to support. These assumed so menacing a character,* that Mr Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, under instructions from home, judged it necessary to send a commissioner to examine the state of affairs on that frontier, to confer with the French commander, and urge him to desist from farther encroachment. This little expedition is memorable from the command being intrusted to Major George Washington, a youth of twenty-one, whose steady and intelligent character already pointed him out for this delicate employment. He departed on the 31st October 1753, and after many difficulties in travelling 560 miles across a rugged part of the Alleghany, arrived at the station of M. de St Pierre. He was received with all the national courtesy and urbanity; but after two days an answer was returned, couched in respectful yet determined language. The commandant described himself as only a military man, who could decide nothing on such an application, which ought to be addressed to the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada, under whom he acted, and whose orders he was bound to obey. Moreover, the inferior officers at a frontier post, after an evening entertainment given to the major, becoming heated with wine, announced, even with an oath, their absolute intention to take possession of the Ohio. Washington had observed on his way the position at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, termed the two Forks of that river, and strongly recommended that it should be fortified. He held communication with a number of Indians, who expressed a friendly disposition to his countrymen, and a jealousy of the manner in which they saw the French occupying their country. But others had been

* Mr Grahame (vol. iii. p. 361) asserts, that in 1753 they seized a number of English traders on the Ohio, and carried them prisoners to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie. None of the American authorities allude to such an event, which would have amounted to an open levying of war.

gained over by that nation, a party of whom made a fruitless attempt to intercept his return.*

The intelligence obtained on this occasion convinced the governor that nothing but force would enable Britain to maintain her jurisdiction over this territory. His object was now to raise an adequate body of troops; but the Assembly of Virginia showed no disposition to come forward, and were with great difficulty induced to vote £10,000. Carolina contributed £12,000. Only three companies, however, mustered under Washington, now colonel, who soon received the alarming intelligence, that a party under Captain Trent, employed by the Ohio Company in erecting a fort on the river, had been obliged to capitulate, obtaining only liberty to retire. The French had also anticipated their rivals by commencing a fort at the junction of the Ohio Forks, which, after their governor-general, they named Duquesne.†

Washington now urgently called on the different states to contribute to the common defence, pointing out the necessity of strong reinforcements; and meantime, his enterprising spirit impelled him to push forward, even with his small numbers, hoping at least to pave the way for a larger force. On approaching, he was informed that a French detachment of fifty men were marching towards him with apparently hostile intentions, who soon afterwards encamped at a small distance. Advancing with some chosen troops and a party of Indians, he attacked them by surprise, and speedily defeated them. Jumonville, the commander, and ten of his men, were killed, while twenty-two were wounded. A loud clamour was raised on this occasion by the French, who declared that their officer was merely the bearer of a summons, and that his death was an act of positive assassination. Washington never deigned to reply to this charge; but his friends have observed, that the great numbers of the

* Sparks' Life of Washington (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1839), vol. i. p. 24-33. Marshall's Life of Washington (5 vols 8vo, Lond. 1804), vol. ii. pp. 6, 17, 33, &c.

† Sparks, vol. i. p. 38-44. Marshall, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

French, and their mode of approaching, did not at all accord with the representation of their being political envoys, but, coupled with the previous violence, gave every ground to believe that they intended to make good their pretensions by force.

Three additional companies had been placed under Colonel Fry, who was advancing to take the command, but died suddenly on the way. They were then forwarded to Washington, whose force they did not augment to more than 400. But even with this small body he advanced upon Fort Duquesne, when intelligence arrived that an army of 1800 French and 400 Indians were preparing to attack him. He had now no choice but to fall back to a spot called the Great Meadows, where he began to erect a fort named, from the circumstances, Necessity. The ditch, however, was not completed, when, on the 3d July, M. de Villiers arrived with nearly 1000 men, and commenced an attack which continued from eleven in the morning till eight in the evening, without any decisive result. The French commander then sent proposals for a capitulation: they were rejected, but during the night, terms were agreed upon, which, under the trying circumstances of the besieged, were considered honourable. The British were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, retaining their baggage, and every thing except their artillery; being also assured of a safe retreat into the low country. The conduct of the campaign was on the whole highly approved, and a vote of thanks passed by the House of Burgesses to Colonel Washington and his officers.*

By this time the colonists began seriously to feel the absence of some general co-operation against this formidable enemy. Those who stood most immediately exposed to attack, complained that upon them alone was thrown the whole burden of repelling it; and the government at home were at length induced to recommend a convention of delegates being held at Albany, to concert with

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 40-51. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 21-35.

each other, and with the chiefs of the Six Nations, a plan of united defence. The New England states, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York, complied with the advice, and appointed deputies, who assembled in June 1754; when the lead was taken by Benjamin Franklin, who ranked already as one of the most intelligent and distinguished citizens of America. Rising from an humble station, he had acquired a paramount influence in his own state of Pennsylvania, and been appointed postmaster-general for the colonies. He soon submitted to his colleagues a very bold and important project. A general government, consisting of a president appointed by the crown, and of a council of representatives from the respective colonies, were to be invested with the general direction of war, peace, treaties, and transactions with the Indians. They were to have the power of imposing such taxes as might be deemed necessary for these purposes; and their acts, if not disallowed by the king within three years, were to acquire the force of law. They might also levy troops, the commanding officers being appointed by the president, subject to the approbation of the council. For this scheme Franklin gained the approbation of all the delegates, except those from Connecticut; but when submitted to the respective governments, it met a very different fate. They all considered these powers, especially that of taxation, as far too great to be placed in the hands of a body over whom each had so little control. Its reception was equally unfavourable in the British cabinet, who viewed it, not without reason, as an arrangement rendering America almost entirely independent. Thus the plan, recommended as it was by such high authority, proved wholly abortive; though perhaps it had some small influence in paving the way for a similar union, which future emergencies induced the colonies to form.*

The British ministry were, however, determined to support their cause with the utmost vigour. Warm re-

* Grahame, vol. iii. p. 367-372.

monstrances were made to the court of France, which lavished in return pacific professions and even promises; but they were directly contradicted by actions, which left no doubt of a firm determination to maintain her lofty pretensions. It was resolved, therefore, to employ force in driving the French from their present advanced position; and in the beginning of 1755, General Braddock, with two regiments, was despatched from Ireland to co-operate with the Virginian forces in obtaining the command of the Ohio. His arrival excited enthusiastic hopes, and at Alexandria he met the governors of five colonies assembled to concert the general plan of a campaign. Washington had quitted the army on account of a regulation by which the colonial officers were made to rank under those of the regular army; but, at the solicitation of Braddock, he consented to act as his aide-de-camp, in the character of a volunteer. Yet their movements were almost arrested by the failure of the Virginian contractors to furnish the wagons necessary for transporting the baggage and artillery. In this emergency, Franklin, by great exertions, and by influence with the farmers of Pennsylvania, succeeded in procuring these supplies; but before they could be transported across the rugged Alleghany, a long time would necessarily elapse, during which the enemy might strengthen Duquesne and reinforce the garrison. At the earnest entreaty of Washington, it was therefore determined to press forward with 1200 well-appointed men, and that Colonel Dunbar, with the heavy artillery and baggage, should remain behind. Washington, however, was dismayed to find that Braddock, though a brave and experienced officer, was wedded to the forms of regular European warfare. Instead of causing his troops to push briskly across the intervening obstacles, he employed them in levelling every hillock, and throwing bridges over every brook. Again, though advised to accept the offered aid of some Indians, at least for scouring the woods and guarding against surprise, he despised such auxiliaries, and treated them so coldly that

they quickly dropped off. Washington, being unfortunately seized with a violent illness, was unable by his utmost efforts to keep up with the army, but rejoined it on the evening of the 8th July, within fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne, against which this laborious movement was directed. The garrison was understood to be small, and quite inadequate to resist the great force now brought to bear upon it; exulting hope filled every heart; and no one doubted to see the British flag waving next day over the battlements, and the enemy rooted out from all Western America. The march next morning is described as a splendid spectacle; being made in full military array, with a majestic river on one hand, and deep woods on the other. Not an enemy appeared, and the most profound silence reigned over this wild territory. They proceeded, forded the stream, and were passing a rough tract covered with wood, which led direct to the fort, when suddenly a destructive fire was poured in upon the front, while another rapidly followed on the right flank. The assault was continued by an enemy who remained invisible, closely hidden behind trees and ravines. The vanguard fell back in a confusion which soon became general. Their only hope would now have been to quit their ranks, rush behind the bushes, and fight man to man with their assailants; but Braddock insisted on forming them into platoons and columns, in order to make regular discharges, which struck only the trees. After some time spent in these fruitless efforts, with the hidden fire still unabated, a general flight ensued, that of the regulars being the most precipitate and shameful, while the only stand was made by the Virginian militia. The officers in general remained on the field while there seemed any hope of rallying their troops, and, consequently, out of eighty-six engaged, sixty-three were killed or wounded; the commander himself mortally. Of the privates, 714 fell; the rout was complete, and the more disgraceful, in that it was before an inferior enemy, whose number did not exceed 850, of whom only 250 were Europeans. During this disastrous day, Washington displayed an admir-

able courage and coolness. After the fall of so many officers, he alone remained to convey orders, and was seen galloping in every direction across the field, amid the thickest fire; yet, by a dispensation which seemed providential, though four balls passed through his clothes, and two horses were killed under him, he escaped unhurt; and very contrary to his wish, this melancholy disaster greatly elevated his reputation. The remnant of the army retreated precipitately into the low country, whither the French considered themselves too weak to pursue them.*

Meantime, a militia force of about 5000 men was assembled at Albany, for an expedition against the important fortress of Crown Point, on the borders of Canada. The commander was William Johnson, an Irishman, who had risen from the ranks, and whose uncommon bodily strength, with a rude energy of character, had enabled him to acquire a greater influence over the Indian tribes than any other British officer. Having reached the southern extremity of Lake George, and learned that the enemy were erecting an additional fort at Ticonderago, he resolved to push forward, hoping to reduce it before the works were completed. Intelligence, however, was soon received, which obliged him to stand on the defensive. Baron Dieskau, an able commander, had carried out from France a large reinforcement, and having added to them a considerable body of Indians, was advancing to attack the British settlements. He at first proceeded towards Oswego, but on learning the advance of Johnson, hastened to direct his operations against him. The latter had fortified his camp, but through defective information, sent forward an advanced party of 1000 men, who at the distance of about three miles unexpectedly met the enemy, and were driven back with great loss. Dieskau then marched forward to assault the main camp, which he seemed to have a fair prospect of carrying; but Johnson received him

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 38-45. Sparks, vol. i. p. 61-68.

with the utmost firmness, and opening a brisk fire, caused the Indians and militia to fall back. The French regulars maintained the contest several hours with great vigour, and the British general was even obliged by a severe wound to leave the command to Lyman, his second. The final result however was, that the assailants were completely repulsed, with the loss of nearly 1000 men. Dieskau himself was mortally wounded and made prisoner; and his retreating forces, being suddenly assailed by a small detachment from New York, abandoned their baggage, and took to flight. It was thought by many, that if Johnson had followed up his victory by an attack on Crown Point, or at least on Ticonderago, he would have succeeded; but he did not choose to hazard the laurels already gained.

It may be mentioned also that in this busy campaign, Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, led an expedition against Niagara; but the difficulties of the march, and the discouragement spread by the tidings of Braddock's defeat, prevented his engaging in any undertaking. It would seem, indeed, that the British forces were scattered in too many quarters, instead of concentrating themselves in one united effort against some important position or commanding stronghold.*

The war which had thus for some time been covertly waged between the two nations, was, in 1756, openly declared; and increased exertions were made on both sides. In a council of governors held at New York, three expeditions were planned, in which 21,000 men were to be employed. Abercromby and Lord Loudon, however, who successively went out as commanders-in-chief, did not possess the requisite energy; and discontents arose among the provincial officers, from being compelled to take rank under the regulars. The French force, meantime, was united under Montcalm, an officer of high spirit; and while the British were deliberating, he hastened against the two forts at Oswego, which,

* Grahame, vol. iii. p. 392-398.

as they protected Lake Ontario, formed their principal bulwark in that quarter. On the 10th of August he began the siege of the first, which was soon evacuated by its defenders owing to the failure of their ammunition, and he then assailed the other with such vigour, that it surrendered on the 14th, Colonel Mercer, the commander, having been killed in the attack. The garrison, amounting to 1400, became prisoners of war, while 121 pieces of cannon, with a quantity of stores, sloops, and boats, fell into his hands. In the following year, he marched against Fort William-Henry, on Lake George, commenced the siege in the beginning of August, and compelled it, in six days, to surrender. The defenders stipulated to march out with the honours of war, and rejoin their countrymen; but these terms were completely violated by the Indians, who barbarously massacred a great number of them. Montcalm's friends have studiously defended him against any charge, even of neglect, on this dreadful occasion; but blame was attached, at the time, both to him and his officers, and there was accordingly kindled throughout the colonies a deep thirst for vengeance.*

Hitherto this war had been an almost continued series of disaster and disgrace; and in Europe similar results were seen to follow the feeble measures of the cabinet. But the spirit of the nation, being now roused, forced into power William Pitt, perhaps the most energetic war-minister who has ever swayed the British councils. Adverse to military operations in Germany, he turned his main attention to the North American colonies, and by vigorously announcing his resolution, drew forth from themselves strenuous exertions. Lord Loudon was superseded by Amherst, a more able commander; while the most active part was assigned to Wolfe, a young officer, in whom the discerning eye of Pitt discovered a rising military genius. It being determined to strike the first blow against Louisburg, considered the centre of French

* Grahame, vol. iii. p. 406-410; vol. iv. p. 6, &c.

power in that quarter, an expedition sailed against it in May 1758, and by the end of July, chiefly through his exertions, it was compelled to surrender. This success was followed up next year by a more formidable attempt, under the same commander, against Quebec, capital of New France. On the 13th September 1759, a splendid victory, dearly purchased indeed by the death of that gallant officer, placed the city in the undisputed possession of Britain.*

After this triumph, France could with difficulty maintain her posts in the interior. In 1758, General Abercromby, with 16,000 regulars and provincials, marched against Crown Point and Ticonderago. The first skirmish was marked by the fall of Lord Howe, a young officer of high promise, and much beloved in America. The commander, having soon after made a premature assault on the last-mentioned fort, was repulsed with considerable loss, when he raised the siege and precipitately retreated. Colonel Bradstreet, however, at the head of a detachment, captured Fort Frontignac, a post of some consequence on Lake Ontario.†

Meantime the Virginians, notwithstanding their most earnest wishes, had in vain attempted to renew the expedition against Fort Duquesne; having placed under the command of Washington a force barely sufficient to check the incursions of the French and Indians. In 1758, however, under the auspices of Pitt, General Forbes arrived with a body of troops, which the provincials soon raised to 6000; but, contrary to the urgent advice of the American, instead of pushing on by a track already formed, he undertook to cut a new one through forests almost impracticable. He accordingly failed to reach the scene of action till November, when the season was too late for active

* These events are narrated in greater detail in the Account of British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 175-177; vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.

† Grahame, vol. iv. p. 29-32.

operations, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. A party under Major Grant, having rashly advanced, were defeated with great loss. The situation of the army appeared very serious, when news arrived that the garrison, reduced to 500, and discouraged probably by the fall of Louisburg and the dangers menacing Canada, had set fire to the fort, and retreated in boats down the river. The Indians, who had already abandoned their cause, readily entered into terms with the British, and tranquillity was established along the whole line of the back settlements.

In 1759, General Amherst, co-operating with Wolfe, marched against Ticonderago and Crown Point, which were evacuated on his approach. Prideaux, meantime, with a strong detachment, advanced and laid siege to Niagara. He was accidentally killed; but Sir William Johnson, his successor, pushing operations with increased vigour, completely defeated a large force which had been collected against him, and finally obliged the garrison to surrender prisoners of war. Amherst could not open a communication with Quebec, which was in great danger of being retaken during the winter; but it was saved by the good conduct of General Murray. Next summer, that officer from Quebec, and General Amherst from Niagara, made a combined march upon Montreal, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil still attempted to maintain; but he was obliged, on the 8th September 1760, to sign a capitulation for the city as well as for the whole of Canada. By the peace of Paris, France ceded it and all the adjacent countries.* Spain was also obliged to yield Florida; and Britain acquired a vast, compact, and flourishing empire, reaching from the arctic zone to the Gulf of Mexico.

It would have been satisfactory could we have added a particular view of the progress made during this period by the colonies, in population, industry, and wealth.

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* See British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 178.

Their advance was certainly most rapid; yet the details are scanty, and in many cases doubtful. They were favoured by a combination of circumstances almost unprecedented. An industrious race, skilled in agriculture, were transported to a country where land to any extent could be easily obtained. The abundance of the necessaries of life thus produced, removed all check to marriage and the rearing of children; while the same circumstances invited a continual influx of emigrants from Europe. Hence arose a rapid increase of population, of which the modern world at least had never seen any example; doubling, it was supposed, in twenty-five or even twenty years. Of this a satisfactory proof was obtained from the imposing aspect under which the colonies appeared at successive periods; yet, down to the year 1790, no precise particulars were ever obtained.

Mr Bancroft, availing himself of the best materials within his reach, estimated the amount in 1688 at 200,000. Mrs Willard calculated the number in 1733 at 401,900; but this, we are convinced, is greatly underrated. For example, she gives the population of New England, in 1692, at 120,000; and in 1733, at only 187,000; though there is reason to believe that the increase was far greater. She supposes the whole inhabitants of the colonies in 1763 to have been 3,000,000; which appears too high. Congress, it is true, at the commencement of hostilities, about 1775, assumed the same amount; and Mr Jay, when examined at Madrid by Count Florida Blanca, maintained that, being furnished by the states themselves, with a view to the levies and supplies that would be required from them, it was probably under the truth.* Yet it is very curious that, in 1784, a similar estimate, formed with the same view, amounted only to 2,389,000. As, however, the census of 1790 gave nearly 4,000,000, the other was probably a good deal too low, and the preceding one perhaps nearly correct.

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 452. Willard, pp. 84, 107, 182. Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. vii. p. 227, &c.

The commercial progress of the colonies was equally rapid, and excited a still greater interest. Their exports consisted almost exclusively of the rude productions of land; a circumstance most grateful to the English people, since it naturally led to the desire to take their commodities in exchange. Their progress in agriculture, by absorbing at once their capital and their labour, prevented them from making any attempt to manufacture goods for themselves; while, by increasing their wealth, it induced them to prefer the fabrics of Britain to the rude home-made stuffs with which they had been at first contented. There was, however, a difficulty in finding articles, such as the rich products of the West Indies, which would obtain a place in the market of Europe. Silk and wine, the early objects of hope and pride, never succeeded; and though, in 1731, there were exported from Virginia three cwts. of the former, their expectations from this source proved ultimately fallacious. What they vainly sought, however, came upon them from unexpected quarters; and we have seen how tobacco forced itself into the place of a leading export. During the present period, Virginia and Maryland became the chief sources whence all Europe was supplied. In 1744 and the two succeeding years, Britain imported 40,000,000 pounds, whereof 30,000,000 were re-exported. Rice also was accidentally introduced in the manner already mentioned; and so congenial was the swampy soil of Carolina to its culture, that nearly the whole quantity consumed in Europe was raised in that plantation. The productions of the northern colonies being nearly the same with those of Britain, met with no demand from our merchants; but the surplus of grain found a market in Spain and Portugal; provisions and timber were sent to the West Indies; and thence they obtained the means of paying for our manufactures. To New England again, the fisheries and shipbuilding were a source of ever-increasing wealth. The following exhibits a view of the progressive increase of imports and exports from 1700 to 1763:—

	1701.		1730.		1750.		1763.	
	British Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
New England	32,656	86,322	54,701	208,196	48,455	343,659	74,815	258,854
New York ..	18,547	31,910	8,740	64,356	35,634	267,130	53,988	238,560
Pennsylvania	5,220	12,003	10,582	48,592	28,191	217,713	38,228	284,152
Virginia and Maryland...	235,738	199,683	346,823	150,931	508,939	349,419	642,294	555,391
Carolina	16,973	13,908	151,739	64,785	191,607	133,037	282,366	250,132
Georgia	....	....	....	....	1,942	2,125	14,469	44,908
*	309,134	343,826	572,585	536,960	814,768	1,313,083	1,106,160	1,631,997

In 1769, a merchant, under the inappropriate title of The American Traveller (4to, London, 1769), published a very detailed statement of the commerce of the colonies, on an average of the preceding three years; and as this does not seem to be generally known, we here present a summary, which may interest some classes of readers :—

	Massachusetts.	Rest of New England.	New York.	Pennsylvania.	Virginia & Maryland.	North Carolina	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Dry cod	100,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100,000
Pickled fish.	8,000	7,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	15,000
Timber.....	45,000	30,000	25,000	35,000	55,000	15,000	20,000	11,000	236,000
Ships.....	49,000	....	14,000	17,500	30,000	....	6,000	....	116,500
Whale & cod oil, &c....	114,000	22,500	....	....	....	....	....	....	136,500
Live stock..	12,000	25,000	17,000	20,000	....	....	15,000	....	89,000
Salted beef and pork..	13,500	15,000	26,000	55,000	15,000	....	25,000	....	149,500
Potash.....	20,000	15,000	14,000	....	....	....	....	....	49,000
Bees'wax, &c	9,000	....	1,500	1,000	....	....	....	....	11,500
Flour & bisc.	....	....	250,000	350,000	....	....	....	....	600,000
Grain.....	....	....	110,000	112,000	70,000	....	12,000	....	304,000
Skins.....	....	....	35,000	50,000	25,000	....	45,000	17,000	172,000
Skins.....	....	....	20,000	35,000	35,000	....	....	....	90,000
Cop. & iron.	....	....	....	....	768,000	14,000	....	....	782,000
Tobacco.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	220,000	36,000	256,000
Rice.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	50,000	1,700	51,700
Indigo	....	....	....	....	....	17,800	2,600	....	20,400
Tar.....	....	....	....	....	21,000	....	....	....	21,000
Hemp.....	....	....	14,000	30,000	14,000	....	....	....	58,000
Flax seed..	....	....	....	....	7,000	....	....	....	7,000
Sassafras....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2,500
Silk.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2,500	2,500
Sundries	....	....	....	....	....	21,500	....	6,000	27,500
Exports....	370,500	114,500	526,500	705,500	1,040,000	68,300	395,600	74,200	3,295,100
Imports....	395,000	42,000	531,000	611,000	865,000	18,000	365,000	49,000	2,846,000

* Anderson's Origin of Commerce (edit. 1789), vol. iv. pp. 30, 36, 40, 43.

CHAPTER XI.

Revolution, from its Commencement to the Declaration of Independence.

Authorities for this Part of the Work—Secret Discontents—Plan of taxing America—Stamp Act passed—First Congress—Tumults in the Colonies—Marquis of Rockingham Minister — Concessions — Tranquillity restored—Charles Townshend—New Taxes imposed—Fresh Troubles—Non-importation Agreement—Lord North Minister—Repeal of Taxes—Movements in America—They subside—Plan of Duty on Tea—Violent Proceedings at Boston—Indignation of Ministers—Shutting of the Port—Alteration of the Charters, &c.—Opposition by Burke, Chatham, and Others—Extreme Discontent in the Colonies—Meeting of General Congress—Its Proceedings—Debates in Parliament—Coercive Measures—Arming in Massachusetts—Battle of Lexington—Warlike Operations — Addresses by Congress — Washington Commander-in-chief—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Hostile Movements in Virginia and other Colonies—State of Washington's Army—Proceedings in Parliament—Treaties with German Princes—American Expedition into Canada—Difficulties of Washington — Gage succeeded by Howe — His Plans — Obliged to evacuate Boston—Washington marches to New York—Expedition against Charleston—Projects of Independence—Opposition—Final Declaration.

We are now entering on the history of that great crisis which severed the American colonies from the mother-country, and rendered them an independent state. This being the most important event in their annals, it may be proper to give a brief notice of the authorities and materials on which the narrative is founded. The author, considering the number of respectable writers by whom

this subject has been treated, had hoped to find his task comparatively easy, and to follow with safety a route already traced. Yet he had not proceeded far, when he felt it impossible to exhibit, even on the proposed scale, any satisfactory view of the train of events, without a diligent search into contemporary documents. The inquiry has been generally pursued in a violent partisan spirit, and without due research. The American authors, indeed, Marshall, Sparks, and Pitkin, have collected with industry, and, allowing for a venial tinge of national feeling, written with candour. But their researches have been confined exclusively to their own side of the Atlantic, and have not included even the most accessible of British materials. We shall only mention the records of the two houses of parliament, and the papers laid before them; the memoirs of Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Tarleton, and other commanders; with the vast mass of original documents published by Almon, under the title of the Remembrancer. Proceeding on such narrow grounds, they could obtain only a partial view of the subject, and, besides being misled as to facts, they had always to grope in the dark for the views and motives of the English government.

In regard to the narratives produced on the European side, we must acknowledge that we have formed a still lower estimate; party spirit being usually more violent, and information from every quarter less satisfactory. From this last censure, so far as English sources are concerned, Mr Adolphus must be excepted, to whom large acknowledgments are due. In that able writer, however, the bias in favour of Britain is so extreme, that it was impossible to dispense with an investigation into the original documents. The work of M. Botta possesses a high reputation, justified in so far by the animation and eloquence with which it is composed. As, however, he has not quoted in detail his sources of information, and could not have access to any private channel, it is not safe to rest upon him as an authority. There is reason to suspect, that his narrative is founded mainly upon

American notices which possess not any high claim to respect. He even appears to have been ignorant of Washington's Confidential Letters to Congress, though they had been published thirteen years previously. At all events, he had no access to the extensive materials employed by Sparks, Pitkin, and later writers. We may add, that, like other European advocates of America, he is actuated by a much more violent spirit than any of the respectable native historians.

It may be proper to mention the importance that has been placed on the histories published immediately after the termination of the war by Gordon, Ramsay, and Stedman, and which continued long the standard authorities. The first is very valuable as coming from an eyewitness of some of the leading occurrences; while with regard to others, friends in various quarters supplied him with information. He also carefully collected many floating papers and documents; and, with the exception of a slight bias in favour of the colonies, displays a spirit of candour. Ramsay's Account of the Events in South Carolina is also founded on personal details, while, as a member of the government, he had access to official intelligence. His narrative displays a somewhat stronger leaning to the same side, but still considerable fairness. His general History of the Revolution is a compilation of very moderate value. Stedman, as an English officer, served under Howe and Cornwallis, and had thereby an opportunity of witnessing the principal military operations. In other respects, his work is very superficial.

The triumphant issue of the contest with France seemed to have placed the British empire in America on a foundation at once solid and permanent. The possession of the whole eastern coast, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, secured it almost completely against any other European power, without whose support the natives could make only a very feeble and desultory resistance. The population, the wealth and advancing commerce of these colonies, inspired sanguine and indeed

chimerical hopes of future advantage. They had co-operated most cordially, by strenuous efforts and great sacrifices, in the arduous contest waged on their soil by Britain with her powerful rival; and the exultation of common success cemented still more closely the mutual ties. The most friendly feelings appeared to be mutually cherished; and nothing indicated the approach of that fatal crisis which was to rend the empire asunder, and to begin the separation between the Old and the New Worlds.

There were not wanting, indeed, circumstances secretly tending towards this result. The colonies had always professed a firm and zealous allegiance to the king; and even Mr Marshall admits, that to the very latest period they did not generally dispute the supreme legislative power of parliament: yet they had at the same time shown an extreme anxiety to manage their affairs in their own way; and during their silent growth, when communication was tedious and unfrequent, they generally attained this object. Occasionally the monarchs were seized with jealous feelings, and sent out strict and imperious mandates; but the planters, by delay, coupled with firm and respectful remonstrance, usually contrived to evade their execution. The discouragement to their manufactures, though unfair, was of little consequence when such branches of industry would at all events have been premature. The monopoly of their commerce, though a more serious evil, was so accordant with the contracted views of the age, that they never thought of disputing the right, or expecting it not to be enforced. It was, besides, executed with so much laxness, that the most lucrative dealings were carried on clandestinely with very little interruption. On this point British jealousy was at length roused; customhouses were erected, and cruisers stationed along the coast. The merchants, without disputing the right to take these measures, only complained of its being enforced in a violent and sometimes illegal manner; but their minds were silently opened to the advantages which

might arise from a state of independence.* We believe, however, on grounds which will be developed in the course of this narrative, that no such feeling or wish existed among the great body of the people.

In Great Britain, meanwhile, the light under which the colonies were viewed underwent a material alteration. Free nations, it has been often observed, are peculiarly apt to domineer over subject states. The people regarded with the highest complacency their sway over a vast transatlantic empire: according to Lord Chatham, even the chimney-sweepers on the streets talked boastingly of their subjects in America. The entire subservience of the settlers, the power of parliament to impose upon them both laws and taxes, had always at home been held undisputed. In their infant state, however, when struggling with poverty and danger, there had been neither motive nor disposition to enforce these claims; and the occasional attempts to subvert their privileges, having been made in a violent manner by arbitrary and unpopular monarchs, had excited sympathy among the great body of the nation. The case was altered, when they had attained a degree of prosperity which enabled them undoubtedly to make a certain contribution towards the general interests of the empire; and some benefit might reasonably be expected from the vast exertions made in order to promote their security. The effect of these, indeed, appeared in a serious derangement of the national finances. The budget of 1764 exhibited an expenditure hitherto unprecedented, leaving a deficiency of about three millions, which was with difficulty supplied by temporary resources and by encroachment on the sinking fund.† Successive changes in the ministry had raised to its head George Grenville, an honest statesman, of great political knowledge and indefatigable application; but his mind, according to the able view of his character drawn by Burke, could not

* Pitkin's Political and Civil History of the United States of America (New Haven, 1828), vol. i. p. 157-160.

† Adolphus' History of England (Lond. 1802), vol. i. p. 159.

extend beyond the circle of official routine, and was unable to estimate the result of untried measures. He saw only the emptiness of the British exchequer, the capability of the Americans to pay a certain revenue, and the supposed unquestionable right to levy it.

Under these views, the minister, on the 10th March 1764, introduced a series of resolutions, asserting the right and expediency of requiring America to contribute to the general exigencies of the empire, and specifying a stamp-duty as an eligible mode. These formidable propositions, which were to shake Europe and America to their foundations, were passed by parliament in the most thoughtless and careless manner. There is no record of speech or vote against them in either house. Mr Grenville afterwards appealed to the members, whether he had not repeatedly asked, if any gentleman would come forward and deny the right of taxation, and not one had done so.* This is certainly a severe reproach on those statesmen who afterwards, when the result became manifest, treated the measure with unbounded reprobation. Lord Chatham, however, must be acquitted, being then confined to bed by severe illness.† Mr Grenville proceeded, on the 5th May, with as little opposition as before, to bring in an act for imposing the intended duty. He showed considerable indulgence towards the colonies, having, on the first moving of the resolutions, sent for their agents, and stated his intention not to push the measure through that session, but to give them an opportunity of passing it themselves, or of raising in any other manner the required sum of £100,000.‡

These resolutions, being transmitted to America, excited the strongest and most hostile feeling; and the colonial assemblies almost unanimously advanced the claim

* Adolphus, vol. i. p. 155. History, Debates, and Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, from 1743 to 1774, vol. iv. pp. 251, 292.

† History, Debates, &c., vol. iv. p. 289.

‡ Pitkin, vol. i. p. 163. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 107.

of having the sole right of imposing taxes on their fellow-citizens. They maintained, that recent duties on imported goods had materially encroached on this right, which the proposed act would entirely extinguish, and thus reduce them completely to the condition of slaves. The assembly of Massachusetts, however, after passing resolutions to the full extent of this principle, were induced by Mr Hutchinson so to modify them as to rest their opposition solely on the ground of expediency. The other states, particularly Virginia and New York, took also a decided part, and petitions of the same tenor were forwarded from many of them to Great Britain. Dr Franklin, already a highly distinguished person, appeared in London as agent for Pennsylvania. He and the others endeavoured to impress strongly upon the minister the hopelessness of the Americans ever submitting to this arbitrary mode of taxation. Mr Pitkin states, that, both in their conversation and in the petitions, a willingness was expressed, if applied to in the usual constitutional mode, to grant aids according to their ability. Yet we do not find any passage quoted to this effect, unless from Pennsylvania, communicated by Franklin. The congress, in the following year, instead of any such offer, urged that the monopoly of their trade, and the duties levied on imported goods, caused them to pay a very fair proportion to the general exchequer. The minister also inquired if the agents could suggest any more eligible way in which the amount might be levied. But they replied, that they had no authority to deal with such a question, being simply instructed to oppose any impost whatever by the British legislature.*

Mr Grenville, early in February 1765, brought his Stamp Act again before parliament. Voices, few indeed, but loud, were now raised against it. General Conway and Alderman Beckford denied the right of taxing America: Colonel Barré, with others, condemned it only as highly inexpedient, and even unjust, as long as we retained the

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 164-170. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 107.

monopoly of her trade. The latter gentleman began a course of most energetic and persevering opposition to the measure. He repelled the alleged obligations of the colonies to the mother-country, describing them as driven from her bosom by persecution, and raised up by their own energies amid many oppressions; as a people at once noble and truly loyal, but jealous of their liberties, which they were determined to vindicate. The act, however, passed in the Commons by a majority of 250 to 50, and in the Lords with scarcely any opposition. The petitions had been generally rejected, on account of their denying the parliamentary right of taxation; that of New York was so intemperate, that no one dared to present it. The act received the royal assent on the 22d March, though it was not to take effect till November following.*

Virginia had always been an aristocratic colony, and hitherto considered peculiarly loyal; but her opulent planters now appeared animated by a most daring spirit of independence. The assembly being then in session, Patrick Henry, an eminent lawyer, brought forward a series of resolutions against the proposed measure, supported by a speech, in which he said, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III."—being interrupted by loud cries of treason, he added,—"may profit by their example." The resolutions were modified, and different versions are given of those finally adopted; but they certainly denied, in the most unqualified terms, the right of taxation claimed. Similar sentiments flew like lightning through the other states, which had at first displayed some degree of apathy. The most momentous step was taken by the assembly of Massachusetts, which, on the 6th June 1766, circulated among the others the proposition for a general congress, to meet at New York, and arrange in concert the means of averting the threatened evil. Nine colonies responded to this call, the others being prevented chiefly by the difficulty

* Adolphus, vol. i. pp. 190, 191. Pitkin, vol. i. p. 171.

of convoking their assemblies. The deputies from Boston, on their arrival, waited upon the governor, and, representing their meeting as regular, informed him of its object and nature. He warned them against it as quite unconstitutional, and which could in no shape be sanctioned; yet without attempting to obstruct the proceedings. In a series of fourteen resolutions they denounced the injustice and ruinous consequences of their being taxed without being represented; a privilege which, from their distance, they declared it impossible for them to enjoy. They did not intimate any willingness to raise a revenue themselves, but maintained that the great advantages derived by Britain from the monopoly of American commerce formed an ample contribution. In an address to the throne, and petitions to both houses of parliament, these sentiments were forcibly expressed; yet they declared that their connexion with the empire formed their greatest happiness and security, and that its harmonious maintenance was the object of their most ardent desire. These documents were signed by only six commissioners, of whom Mr Ruggles of Massachusetts, though chairman, was not one; while others had authority only to report to their state assemblies. All those bodies, however, are said to have ultimately approved the proceedings; and this first united act of the colonies against the mother-country bore certainly a most portentous aspect.*

But the dreaded crisis arose when the first cargo of stamped paper was landed upon the American shores. It was followed by disturbances, which the writers of that country generally represent as arising solely from the licentious turbulence of the lower orders; but we see reason to think that the opulent classes, who indeed were almost exclusively interested, prompted and seconded them so far as concerned the laying violent hands upon the article. Boston was the centre of tumult. On the 15th August, the multitude hung on a tree the

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 177-186.

effigy of Mr Oliver, the stamp-master; and the sheriff, when ordered to take it down, declared it was impossible, without hazarding the lives of those employed. At dusk, the people carried the figure to the town-house, where the council were assembled, and raised three loud huzzas in token of defiance. They then took it to the front of his house, where they cut off the head, after which, notwithstanding the defence made by his friends, they burst open the door, proclaiming their intention to murder him; but he had escaped. The council, having sent orders to a colonel of militia to beat an alarm, was told that it would signify nothing, for the drummer would be knocked down, and that probably every one belonging to the regiment was among the mob. Next morning, Mr Oliver, to save his life, resigned his office, and whenever any one was heard of who defended or was likely to succeed him, a day was fixed for burning his house; a measure which was preceded by a bonfire in front of the dwelling, and cries of "liberty and property." The mob, meeting no resistance, proceeded to still greater extremities. On the 26th, they demolished the residences of the registrar-deputy and comptroller of the customs; after which they hastened to that of the governor, who not having the slightest apprehension, was with difficulty persuaded by his family to quit it. The people rushed in, threatening murder, and immediately began its total destruction, involving that of a fine library, together with important manuscripts illustrative of the history of the state from its earliest settlement. Next morning, the street was found strewed with plate, rings, money, and other valuable articles. Boston being now threatened with entire destruction, the principal inhabitants repaired to the governor, and offered to restore the dominion of law, on condition that no penal proceedings should be held on account of the first commotion, directed solely against the stamps; and it was only by this humiliating compact that order was restored. In New York the people advanced in arms to attack the fort in which the obnoxious article had been lodged, and this post not being

deemed tenable, the commander thought it necessary to deposit the object of their resentment in the hands of the magistrates. Movements somewhat similar were organized at every place of landing; and it is said "the little turbulent colony of Rhode Island raised their mob likewise." At the same time, combinations were proposed for discontinuing the use of all British manufactures.*

In England, meanwhile, affairs took a favourable turn for the colonists, through circumstances wholly independent of the merits of the question. From certain causes, an account of which falls not within our range of inquiry, ministerial affairs were in a very unsettled state. A turn of the political wheel brought into power the Marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman professing principles decidedly liberal. The colonial department was intrusted to General Conway, who had stood forward as the zealous advocate of the Americans. His views were seconded by petitions from London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Glasgow, and other great commercial towns, deprecating the loss of their lucrative commerce. Yet ministers were beset with considerable difficulties, having to maintain the honour of the British government, which would be seriously compromised and its authority weakened, by yielding to a resistance thus violently urged. In the debate on the address, Mr Grenville maintained that if we yielded, our power over America was lost; what was now almost rebellion would become revolution. "The seditious spirit in the colonies owed its birth, he said, to factions in the house. We were bid to expect disobedience; what was this but telling the Americans to resist—to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support?" This argument, however, seems untenable, when we consider the apathy shown in parliament till the disturbances had actually arisen. Mr Nugent, afterwards Lord Clare, insisted that the colonies should at least be obliged to own the right of taxation, and to solicit the repeal of the late

* Official Despatches in History, Debates, &c., vol. iv. pp. 307, 312-318.

act as a favour. The opposite cause was most strenuously advocated by Mr Pitt, who, after a long illness, reappeared on the scene. On the proposal to tax America, so great he said had been his agitation for the consequences, that if he could have been carried in his bed, and placed on the floor of the house, he would have come to bear testimony against it. He maintained the supremacy of Great Britain in all matters of government and legislation; the greater must rule the less; but taxes were a gift or grant from the people; and how could any assembly give or grant what was not their own. "I rejoice," said he, "that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."—"In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But on this ground your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her."*

The ministers, after a good deal of consideration, determined to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, combined with a declaration of the power of Britain to bind the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*. This pointed expression, meant to sooth the opposite party, appeared to imply the power of taxation, and was indeed so explained by Conway, though as one only to be exercised in extreme cases. Yet very great difficulty was found in carrying it through the houses. In the Commons the minority was 167 to 275; in the Lords, 71 to 105. Thirty-three of the latter joined in a protest, stating, that after the declaration already made, "such a submission of King, Lords, and Commons, in so strange and unheard-of a contest," would amount to an entire surrender of British supremacy.†

* History, Debates, &c., vol. iv. pp. 292-297, 321. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 219-230.

† History, Debates, &c., vol. iv. pp. 343-345, 367-369. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 232-234.

The news of this repeal were received in the colonies with gratitude and satisfaction; and they passed over the declaratory portion of the act, as merely intended to save the honour of the British legislature. The Assembly of Massachusetts passed a vote of thanks to the king, to whom the house of burgesses in Virginia voted the erection of a statue. The greatest difficulty respected compensation to the sufferers by the disturbances, which was demanded in mild but urgent terms by General Conway. Though not absolutely repelled, great backwardness was shown in fulfilling it, especially in Massachusetts, where complaints were made that Governor Bernard made the requisition in a more peremptory manner than his despatches had authorized. After long delay the measure was agreed to, but combined with a general pardon to all concerned in the riots, a proceeding considered by the government as wholly irrelevant and beyond their jurisdiction. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the compensation was at length every where adjusted.* A new clause in the Mutiny Act, however, by which it was required that the troops sent out should be furnished not only with quarters but with beer, salt, and vinegar, was represented as only a disguised form of taxation. In New York, where it came first into operation, the assembly refused to issue orders for its enforcement.†

The colonies had thus shown a disposition to remain attached on certain terms to the mother-country, yet combined with an extreme and determined jealousy of any encroachment. In such circumstances, prudence evidently enjoined the strictest caution and a study to maintain things as they were, rather than attempt novel and doubtful measures. Unhappily, though there was no want of talent among the statesmen of the day, ministerial arrangements continued very fluctuating and unsettled. An entirely new cabinet came into power, at the

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 213-215. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 121-123.

† Pitkin. vol. i. pp. 215, 216. History, Debates, &c., vol. iv. p. 491.

head of which indeed was nominally Mr Pitt, the friend of America; but his health was so broken, that he took no share whatever in public measures, and not being expected to recover, had lost his wonted influence. The lead was taken by Charles Townshend, a man of the most brilliant wit and eloquence, and whose power over the House of Commons was almost unbounded; yet destitute of solid and statesman-like views, and, according to Burke, impelled by an inordinate vanity to the hopeless attempt of pleasing the most opposite parties. He soon found that concession to America was in bad odour among the majority of the house, and was stung, it is said, by taunts from his old colleague, Mr Grenville, who reproached him with cowardice in not daring to act on his own principles. Under these impulses, he determined to undertake this perilous measure in a different shape, which might, it was hoped, be less offensive and more efficacious.

In May 1767, he introduced a bill imposing a duty on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours, exported from this country to America. As the colonists could receive these articles only from Britain, a tax was thus inevitably entailed, to which, after what had passed, their submission could never be expected. Yet we have again to wonder at the supine apathy of parliament, and particularly of those members who afterwards impugned the measure with the greatest vehemence. The bill passed rapidly through both houses, and on the 29th June received the royal assent. By another act, resident commissioners of customs were established in the colonies, and other regulations made for the more strict collection of the revenue. The principle of these arrangements could not be objected to; yet, as in fact a very extensive contraband trade had long entered into the traffic of the Americans, they pressed upon them with a new severity, which they could scarcely brook.

On intelligence of these acts being received amongst them, all the elements of opposition were again in movement. A number of publications, particularly Mr Dickinson's "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," taught

the people to regard them as a decided attack on their liberties. The general assembly of Massachusetts, having met in January 1768, drew up a petition to the king, asserting in decided though not violent terms the right of not being taxed without their own consent. They took the more obnoxious measure of sending a circular, embodying the same sentiments, to the assemblies of the other colonies, inviting their co-operation. This last step excited the utmost jealousy in the British ministers, who instructed Governor Bernard to call upon them to rescind their resolution, and, in case of non-compliance, to dissolve them. The house, however, in June 1768, by a vote of 92 to 17, adhered in the most positive manner to these proceedings; when their immediate dissolution followed. The government sent a counter circular to the other assemblies, warning them to beware of the dangerous and factious conduct of Massachusetts. It failed, however, to prevent a cordial concurrence of all the leading bodies, several of whom repelled with vehemence the attempt to dictate to them, or to control their proceedings.*

At Boston, meantime, fresh grounds of irritation continually arose. The commissioners of customs arrived, and one of their officers was placed on board a sloop belonging to Mr Hancock, a zealous patriot, laden with wines from Madeira. The functionary, on attempting to exercise his duties, was confined in the cabin, and the whole cargo was landed during the night. The vessel was in consequence condemned and seized; upon which the people rose in tumult, burned a custom-house boat, and compelled the commissioners to flee for safety on board the Romney ship of war. The assemblies strongly condemned these proceedings, inviting even the government to prosecute; but there appeared so little prospect of obtaining either witnesses or juries who would convict, that no such attempt was made.†

The agitation excited by this event was heightened by

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* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 216-227. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 321.
† Adolphus, vol. i. pp. 349, 350. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 146-149.

another, which was in a great degree its consequence. Two regiments were ordered from New York to be quartered at Boston. The first rumour of this measure raised an extraordinary ferment; a town meeting was held, and a committee appointed, who waited on the governor to ascertain the truth of the report, and solicit him to convene the assembly. He did not deny the fact, but declared that he was unable to comply with the request without instructions from home. The people then proceeded to the very serious measure of finding a substitute for the assembly, by inviting the other towns to nominate deputies, and thus form a convention. Pretending, too, the dread of a war with France, they issued orders that every inhabitant, according to an alleged law of the state, should provide himself with a musket and the requisite ammunition. All the towns except one sent deputies, who assembled in the beginning of September. They immediately despatched three members to the governor, with a petition, disclaiming any idea of assuming an authoritative character, but professing merely to have met "in this dark and distressing time to consult and advise as to the best means of preserving peace and good order;" and concluded with a request to call the assembly. He refused to receive the message, or in any shape recognise the meeting, and next day wrote a letter, admonishing them to separate without delay. They did not immediately comply; yet not being actuated by the violent temper which prevailed among the citizens, they merely prepared a petition to the king, expounding their grievances, but professing the most decided loyalty, and a desire to cultivate harmony with Great Britain. In a report addressed to the people, while setting forth the alarming state of the country, they earnestly inculcated submission to legal authority, and abstinence from all acts of violence and tumult. They then separated after a session of five days. The troops now arrived, and as the council and inhabitants refused to take any steps for their accommodation, the governor was obliged to encamp part on the common,

and assign to some quarters in the market-hall and state-house; positions that greatly aggravated the odium with which they were regarded.*

Another important step to which the Americans were now impelled was an agreement for the non-importation of British goods. This, however, was accomplished with great difficulty, the people being thereby deprived of nearly all the conveniences and luxuries of life; while the merchants, the most active opponents of the mother-country, were threatened with ruin. The proposition, after being suggested, lay some time dormant, nor, till August 1768, was it fully determined upon, even in Massachusetts. Virginia next followed the example, which Lord Bottetourt, the governor, vainly endeavoured to prevent by dissolving the assembly. In this measure Washington took an active part, and his confidential letters intimate that he already contemplated a resort to arms as inevitable. Other colonies were induced to join, some of whom were influenced only by a threat from the rest of discontinuing all communication.†

In the beginning of 1769, these proceedings being brought under the view of the British parliament, excited in a great majority the most decided reprobation. Both houses passed a series of resolutions declaring the pretension of not being bound by the acts of the legislature "illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain." The circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly, the assemblage and proceedings of the Boston convention, were characterized as daring insults on his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government. In an address to the king, the Lords assured him of support in maintaining the laws in Massachusetts Bay, and prayed information respecting all persons accused of treason in the said colony, that they might be dealt with according to the act 35 Henry VIII., which

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 230-232. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 152-155

† Pitkin, vol. i. pp. 230, 237, 243. Marshall, vol. ii. pp. 163, 164, 171, 174, 175. Sparks, vol. i. p. 117-119.

directs such to be brought to England, and tried under a special commission. The resolution and address, when brought down to the Commons, encountered a warm opposition. Governor Pownall, intimately acquainted with the colonies, and actuated seemingly by patriotic motives, strongly advised ministers to pause, and do nothing to inflame the Americans, whom he described as sincerely attached to the mother-country, yet jealous in the extreme of those liberties for which their ancestors had made such sacrifices. It was urged that this obsolete statute had been intended merely for British subjects resident on the French coast, to whom it was a boon, and that it could not without extreme hardship be applied to countries beyond the ocean. Yet the resolution was passed by 161 to 65.*

At this time, however, another entire change took place in official arrangements, when Lord North began his long and eventful career. Introduced into power under Lord Chatham, and returning with him, he might have been expected to share the sentiments and views of that great statesman; yet his character was in fact wholly different. He possessed extensive and varied knowledge, considerable eloquence, with peculiar skill in debate, and address in managing the house. At the same time, his easy good humour and amenity of temper strongly attached his friends, and disarmed resentment even among his bitterest enemies. Acknowledging, too, a strong propensity to indolence, he seemed likely to sail down a smooth stream of political life, and to be the very last person under whom the nation would be shaken by a storm of rebellion and revolution. Yet he wanted the decisive character of mind which would have fitted him for that formidable crisis he could not avoid. He was incapable of originating or of acting upon any comprehensive plan, while, on the other hand, he was easily hurried into hasty and inconsiderate measures, from the effects of which he had not skill to extricate himself. His

* Adolphus, vol. i. p. 380-385. Pitkin, vol. i. p. 235.

friends nevertheless assert, and we think with truth, that he was really an honest minister, sincerely desirous of the public welfare, and that he proved this by the selection, without regard to favour or party, of the individuals best fitted for high commands. Cornwallis, Rawdon, Rodney, Elliot, supported the glory and power of the nation, even amid disaster. He bitterly bewailed the evils in which the state was involved during his rule, and declared his readiness to sacrifice not only office and dignity, but even all his private possessions, if such calamities could thereby be removed.

Almost every new minister had opened his career by concession to the provincials; and one of Lord North's temper was not likely to form an exception. The merchants, too, who were beginning to suffer severely by the non-importation proceedings, petitioned earnestly in favour of the colonies. The exports, which in 1768 had amounted to £2,378,000, of which £132,000 was in tea, had fallen in 1769 to £1,634,000, the tea being only £44,000.* On the 5th March 1770, his lordship proposed to withdraw the duties recently imposed, as contrary to sound commercial principles, and tending to discourage our own manufactures. He retained only that on tea, as an assertion of the British right of taxation. Even George Grenville condemned this plan as inconsistent and imperfect, urging that one system or other ought to be thoroughly adopted; while several members reprobated all concession, and insisted that the acts should be enforced with the united powers of the nation. An amendment by Governor Pownall, that the tea duty also should be repealed, was negatived by 204 to 142, and the original motion carried.†

This measure in a great degree tranquillized America; though considerable materials of irritation were left. The more zealous patriots contended, that as their objection had been to the principle, not the amount of the taxes, the retention of any one was equivalent to a con-

* History, Debates, &c., vol. v. p. 254.
† Adolphus, vol. i. p. 459.

tinuance of the whole. The resolution, also, respecting the conveyance of offenders to England for trial, though never in fact intended to be acted upon, excited rumours and alarms. The Massachusetts assembly advanced new and bolder claims, altogether denying the power of parliament even to legislate; they complained also of the laws restraining their manufactures, which were doubtless impolitic, but had hitherto been quietly submitted to, and in their actual state were of very small practical injury. A new arrangement, making the salaries of the governor and judges independent of the assembly, gave rise to strong remonstrances. They declared that no arrangement would satisfy them except the restoration of every thing to the same footing as at the close of the late war. The removal of their body to Cambridge, and its long prorogations, heightened the discontent; while the presence of the military was a continued source of complaint and irritation. On the 5th March 1770, a party being insulted by the townsmen, discharged their pieces, when several of the latter were either killed or wounded. The excitement thus caused may be easily imagined, and Captain Preston, the commander, as well as several of the soldiers, were brought to trial; on which occasion Mr Quincy and Mr Adams, two of the most zealous patriots, actuated by a sincere regard to justice, undertook the defence. The accused were honourably acquitted, it having been proved that the officer had made active exertions for preventing the catastrophe. Such urgent representations, however, were now made by the council and the citizens, that the commander agreed to remove the troops, quartering them in the castle and other adjacent places.*

This irritation was greatly heightened by an incident which occurred in London. Dr Franklin, residing there as colonial agent, became by some means possessed of certain letters written by Governor Hutchinson, and Oliver the lieutenant-governor, to Mr Whately,

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 244-255. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 172-180. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 462, &c.

a secretary of the treasury. They contained a strong reprobation of the conduct of the democratic leaders, representing them as men destitute of property and character, and who must be put down by coercive measures. The expression occurred, "there must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties;" and Oliver recommended a change in the system of allowing the council to be nominated by the members of assembly. Franklin immediately transmitted these to Mr Cushing, speaker to that house, in which the most violent ferment was immediately kindled. A committee waited upon the governor, who hesitated not to own himself the author, though he declared them quite private and confidential; upon which the assembly prepared a petition for the immediate removal of him and his lieutenant, which was transmitted to the doctor, who undertook to present and second it. He was allowed a full hearing before the privy council, after three weeks' preparation, when the charge was pronounced groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and the governors acquitted of all blame. On this occasion Franklin was taunted in the severest terms by Mr Wedderburne, solicitor-general, for the breach of faith of which he must have been guilty in procuring and publishing these letters. It seemed indeed difficult wholly to acquit him, though he might urge the public principle, *salus populi suprema lex;* and it has since been stated, that a Dr Williamson had the blame or merit of procuring them for him. He was dismissed, however, from the situation of post-master-general of America. Governor Hutchinson was soon after recalled, though professedly without any blame, and General Gage nominated in his room.

Meantime, the other colonies were not undisturbed. The Gaspee, a revenue schooner stationed at Rhode Island, was seized in the night by a band from Providence, and burnt with all her stores. A special commission, appointed to inquire into the matter and try the offenders, found it impossible to procure any evidence. The legislature of Virginia were alarmed by the rumour,

seemingly without foundation, that the plan of transporting the accused to Britain for trial was now to be adopted. In March 1773, they appointed a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry, with instructions to communicate with the other colonies; a measure which was zealously responded to by Massachusetts, and generally by the rest. The zealots urged on their countrymen the consideration that, so long as a single article was subject to a tax, the principle would be as much violated as if all commodities were included, and that till a general repeal, the non-importation compact ought by no means to be relaxed. Yet its observance became every day more grievous; while the several ports charged each other with clandestine violations. Movements made by some of the smaller states were crushed; but when New York openly broke off from the system, Virginia and Massachusetts were obliged to follow. The exclusion was maintained only in regard to tea, which could either be dispensed with or smuggled from Holland with little difficulty. The agitation, in short, had very sensibly subsided in all the colonies, except the last named; and Mr Marshall admits that the patriots there felt great apprehension lest the people should sink into a state of contentment.* It would really, therefore, appear, that if the British cabinet had merely desisted from constant innovation and petty encroachment, they might have saved the colonies a long time from any serious convulsion.

Unhappily a new thought struck Lord North. In consequence of the pertinacious and successful exclusion of tea, that article had accumulated in the warehouses of the India Company, occasioning to them great loss. It was accordingly proposed, that the British duty of a shilling a-pound should be drawn back on the import into America, where one of only threepence was to be imposed. The colonists, who would thus procure it cheaper than the English, might, it was hoped, be gently

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 246. Marshall, vol. ii. pp. 159, 175-177, 186-189.

manœuvred out of the principle for which they so obstinately contended. It was almost madness to renew in any shape a contest in which the government had been so repeatedly worsted; though this was really a small measure to issue in a vast rebellion,—a slender spark to kindle such a mighty conflagration. We must also again reproach the parliamentary friends of America, that they sounded no note of alarm, and this momentous vote passed in the usual silent and unregarded manner.

The intelligence, when it reached the colonies, strongly roused the determination of the popular leaders. They were sensible, as is admitted by all their advocates, that if the tea were once landed and offered for sale at the cheap rate which these arrangements allowed, nothing could prevent its being bought and consumed; a circumstance which by no means indicates a very fervid zeal among the mass of the people. Large vessels, however, were already crossing the Atlantic, laden with this commodity, the introduction of which on so extensive a scale would completely break up their grand principle of non-taxation. They therefore determined to exert their utmost efforts to prevent the landing; and possessing a paramount influence in the mercantile ports, extorted a promise from the consignees to refuse it, and thus oblige the vessels to carry back their lading. Unfortunately, the agents at Boston rejected this demand, and appealed to the governor, who promised protection; but a mob was quickly collected, their houses were broken into, and themselves compelled to take refuge in Castle William. On the other hand, the governor and custom-house officers even refused to permit the vessels which had arrived to depart without landing the tea. A general meeting of the inhabitants was then called, when resolutions were entered into to oppose such a proceeding; and a guard was appointed, who watched night and day to prevent any portion of the cargo from being sent ashore. Some time after, another great assemblage met at Faneuil Hall, where one party recommended moderate measures; but the majority discovered a violent spirit,

and some undoubtedly desired to urge on steps which might issue in a total rupture. Mr Quincy warned them, that a spirit was now necessary different from any hitherto displayed; they were advancing to "measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw." The captain, who now sought to extricate himself from the affair, was allowed to make a last application to the governor for permission to depart; but having returned and reported a refusal, the meeting separated. Immediately after, the harbour was thronged by a vast multitude, a certain number of whom, disguised as Mohawk Indians, went on board the ships, took full possession of them, and deliberately emptied the whole of their cargoes into the sea.*

This daring outrage hurried affairs to a crisis. On the intelligence arriving in England, the determination was immediately formed to proceed to extreme measures. These were not akin to Lord North's disposition; but he was probably goaded on by others, reproached for his previous concessions, and keenly sensible to this total failure of his own favourite scheme. Now, he said, was our time to stand out, to defy them, to proceed with firmness and without fear. Boston was the centre whence all the present disorders emanated. It had been the ringleader in every riot, and set always the example which others only followed. To inflict a signal penalty on this city would be to strike at the root of the evil. He quoted several instances, as the murder of Dr Lamb in London, under Charles II., and the execution of Captain Porteous by the Edinburgh mob, in which a whole city had been punished for an offence committed by a large body of its inhabitants. It was proposed, therefore, that the port of Boston should be closed, and no goods allowed to be either shipped or landed. This interdict was to continue, till the citizens should express a due sense of their error, and make full compensation to the company; when the crown, if it should see sufficient reason,

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 190-194. Pitkin, vol. i. p. 262-265.

might restore its lost privileges. This motion, so big with war and disaster, when made in the House of Commons, met with such eager concurrence, that the very few who attempted opposition could not without extreme difficulty obtain a hearing. Alderman Sawbridge was obliged to tell them, that though he could not speak long, he could sit long. Even Colonel Barré, the standing advocate of America, said he approved of this measure for its moderation. Some zealous supporters of authority indulged the most imprudent violence of invective against the Americans. Mr Herbert described them as a strange set of people, from whom it was vain to expect any degree of reasoning; they always chose tarring and feathering. Mr Montague, second son to Lord Sandwich, attributed their boldness to the tame councils, the weak and unmanly conduct of ministers, who allowed themselves to be swayed by a faction seeking popularity by clamour, and composed of "the vilest excrement of the earth." Mr Van drew still greater attention, by declaring that the port ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed, adding the quotation, "delenda est Carthago." The second reading passed without a division; but a petition was then presented by the lord mayor from a number of American settlers resident in London. It urged, that the citizens of Boston had not been heard in their own defence, nor redress sought at common law. The place was not walled, nor held any executive power, and the offence had not even been committed within its limits. They proceeded, in very bold language, to observe that the attachment of their countrymen could not survive the justice of Great Britain,—a violation of which might extinguish the filial sentiments hitherto cherished. Some opposition was now mustered, Mr Fuller proposing merely the imposition of a fine. Mr Burke began that series of splendid orations, which he devoted to the cause of transatlantic liberty. He denounced this confounding of the innocent and guilty, and expressed his heartfelt sorrow at the general aspect of affairs;

the universal resistance of all America; one town in proscription, the rest in rebellion; not a port on its coast where goods could be landed and vended. The consequences would be dreadful, nay, he was afraid, destructive; and he gave the prophetic warning, that ministers would draw upon themselves a foreign enemy at a time they little expected. Two former governors, Johnstone and Pownall, expressed themselves earnestly in favour of the Americans; the former declaring he had advised the company against sending the tea, and was sure the affair would issue in rebellion. The latter excited the laughter of the house, by extolling the people for their love of order and peace. But it is remarkable, that none of their advocates now disputed the right of taxation. Mr Dowdeswell referred to a time when this had been doubted by persons of great knowledge; now there was no such opinion; the policy only was questioned. It is remarkable that Mr Fox on this occasion made his first appearance in parliamentary life, by objecting to the power vested in the crown of re-opening the port; a suggestion which was not supported by either party.*

The bill passed without a division. In the Lords, however, it encountered a stronger opposition from certain noblemen of great eminence and talent, particularly Rockingham, Shelburne, and Richmond; but the debates have not been preserved, and it passed finally without any protest.

However severe this measure, it seems not improbable that, had the minister stopped there, affairs might yet have been adjusted. Unhappily, the recollection of the advices of Bernard and Hutchinson, the long and obstinate opposition of the Massachusetts government, the recent outrage doubtless supported by some of its members, impelled to a determination of proceeding farther, and divesting Boston of those privileges, certainly ample, which it had hitherto enjoyed. The town

* History, Debates, &c., vol. vii. p. 69-103.

meetings were to be prohibited, unless with the consent of the governor, who was also to have the appointment of all civil officers, except the supreme judges. On the suggestion of Lord George Germain, who warmly seconded the motion, the council was to be nominated solely by the crown, and juries to be chosen in a less popular manner. All the advocates of America, including Colonel Barré, and others who had acquiesced in the first bill, encountered the present with decided hostility. The opposition divided against it, though mustering only 64 to 239. In the Lords it was resisted with greater energy, and voted against, though only by 20 to 92; but 11 signed a protest.*

While this bill was going through its stages, the minister crowned the whole by a third, respecting individuals charged with offences against the state. According to a law formerly passed, but never executed, they might be conveyed for trial either to Britain or to some other colony. There was doubtless little prospect in New England of convicting them by jury for offences in which their countrymen generally sympathized; still, the being removed for trial to a remote country, the inhabitants of which were generally hostile, was a measure full of hardship and terror. Barré denounced it as big with misery and apprehension to America, and of danger to this nation. Let the banner of rebellion be once spread, and the British were an undone people. Ministers were urging this desperate, this destructive issue, and with such violence as if insurrection were their deliberate purpose. Alderman Sawbridge declared, if the provincials submitted, they would be the most abject slaves that ever the earth produced. Pownall loudly predicted a congress, and perhaps a war. At the same time, another petition was presented by the resident Americans, describing the state to which these bills would reduce their countrymen as one of total slavery. While boasting of their loyal feelings, and their horror at an un-

* History, Debates, &c., vol. vii. pp. 5, 6, 104-108, 111-113, 251.

natural contest, they indicated not obscurely that such must be the result of an attempt to execute these laws. The bill, however, passed in a thinner house, but with even a larger majority than the former, 127 to 24. In the Lords, though there was a similar opposition, and a protest by eight peers, it was carried by 49 to 12.

On the 19th April, Mr Fuller, a member who usually supported ministers, endeavoured to break the severity of these measures, and open a door of conciliation, by a motion for the repeal of the tea duty, the immediate source of all the evil. This debate was chiefly distinguished by a splendid and elaborate oration from Burke. He took a general view of the whole question, and a masterly survey of the conduct of successive ministries, describing them as having united the inconveniences of both and of all schemes. Without disputing the abstract principles of the declaratory act, he urged that they ought to be reserved for extreme cases, when on a great emergency any particular colony refused to contribute its quota. He would not enter into metaphysical distinctions, of which he hated the very sound, but besought parliament to leave the settlers as they had hitherto stood, and follow that system under which we and they had so long been happy. Under any other course, he predicted that resistance would follow, and America would cast off the sovereignty of Britain. The motion, however, was negatived by 182 to 49; and Mr Fuller afterwards said, "I will now take my leave of the whole plan. You will commence your ruin from this day. If ever there was a nation rushing headlong to its ruin, it is this."

A motion to authorize the quartering of troops in America was distinguished by the reappearance of Lord Chatham, who, after a long absence, resumed his place in parliament. There he placed himself in the front of opposition to the proposed American measures. "That bright orb," says Burke, "had not yet set for ever; the western sky was yet red with his descending glory." An eminent journalist even considers this, not perhaps

without reason, as the most brilliant part of his oratorical career. Yet it seems impossible to acquit him of an extreme violence, which at once exasperated the ministry, and prevented any chance of his counsels being adopted; while, on the other hand, it encouraged the colonists in their course of resistance. It may be noticed also as somewhat mysterious, that he never opposed any of the obnoxious measures when first advanced. On one of the most important occasions, he was nominally prime-minister; and though he states himself to have been extremely ill, no assertion is made of his having transmitted any remonstrance, which could not but have met with consideration. Yet his denunciations are made in so deep and earnest a tone, and his plans are so judicious, that it seems impossible to doubt his having been actuated by patriotic feelings. In this instance he condemned in decided terms several acts of the Americans, particularly at Boston; but he maintained that they were irritated into these violences by the repeated attempts to impose upon them taxation, which was not the less odious for being dressed up in the robes of an East India director. This country, he asserted, had no right under heaven to tax America. Referring to the happy effects produced by former concessions, he anticipated similar results, if a system of vigour were exchanged for one of kindness. "Act," said he, "like an affectionate parent towards a beloved child, and instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors; clasp them once more in your arms, and I will venture to affirm, you will find them children worthy of their sire."*

It was now to be seen how these acts were to be received on the other side of the Atlantic. To soften in some degree the blow, Governor Hutchinson, as already stated, was recalled, though the minister declared that it was not on account of any blame attached to him. He was succeeded by General Gage, who, at New York, had distinguished himself by discreet and conciliatory

* History, Debates, &c., vol. vii. p. 13.

conduct. His instructions were to carry out the prescribed measures if possible by gentle means, and without calling in the troops, unless in case of necessity. The ringleaders were to be prosecuted, if there appeared any prospect of obtaining a conviction; otherwise, no suit was to be instituted; so that the third act was rather intended to strike terror than to be actually enforced. He was directed, however, to transfer his residence to Salem, along with the custom-house, and all the courts that were by law removable.* But he arrived at a most inauspicious moment, the Boston port bill having just preceded him, and a town meeting being called to deliberate on its tenor. The ordinary marks of respect were, however, paid, and a hope expressed, which he was obliged to repel, that his government might present a contrast to that of his predecessor. Resolutions were forthwith passed, reprobating the act in the most unmeasured terms; declaring that its impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty exceeded all their powers of description; and an appeal was made to God and the world. Mr Quincy, a leading member, published a paper, in which he said: "A whole people are accused, prosecuted by they know not whom, tried they know not when, proved guilty they know not how, and sentenced to suffer inevitable ruin." The General Assembly met on the 31st May, when the governor announced the necessity of adjourning them till the 7th, to meet at Salem. They hastened, however, to nominate a committee of five, inviting the other states to follow the example, and thus form a new congress at Philadelphia. They also passed resolutions exhorting the people to renounce as far as possible the consumption, not only of tea, but of all commodities imported from Great Britain or her colonies. The governor, on learning how they were engaged, sent his secretary to dissolve them; but they kept the door locked till these measures were completed.†

* Parliamentary Register, vol. i. p. 32-34.

† Despatches in Parliamentary Register, vol. i. p. 32-37. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 200-203. Pitkin, vol. i. pp. 269, 270.

The committee, before proceeding on their destination, prepared a document, to which, not perhaps very suitably, they gave the name of the Solemn League and Covenant. It embodied all the resolutions against commercial intercourse with the mother-country, and even with any colony which should not follow their example. General Gage issued a proclamation, denouncing this combination as unlawful, hostile, and traitorous, and ordering the magistrates to apprehend and bring to trial all guilty of signing it; but his orders were disregarded, and the paper numerously subscribed. Even by the end of June, he states, that some sensible and well-affected persons warned him that recourse would be had to arms; still he expressed hopes that so wicked a project would not be executed. Symptoms, indeed, of a reaction began to appear. At a town meeting, a considerable number of respectable inhabitants strongly urged that the tea should be paid for, and the committee of correspondence dissolved. Though outvoted, they entered a protest, and continued to speak and act in opposition to the popular party. Had no new element, therefore, been introduced, there might have been hopes of accommodation.*

But the arrival, on the 23d August, of the two other acts, put an end to every such expectation. The violence of the popular partisans was then redoubled, while the more moderate either joined them, or were reduced to silence. The country districts, which had as yet done little more than passively follow, on learning the breach of their chartered rights, burst into the most furious ferment; and Connecticut, which had hitherto kept nearly aloof, joined them with ardour on this ground. The resolution to resist by force seems now to have been finally adopted; arms and ammunition were collected in various quarters. The people of Boston, meanwhile, exhibited a show of tranquillity, and even of submission; but this studied silence evidently covered designs of deeper import than ever. While pretending to give up

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 204. Parliamentary Register, vol. i. p. 39-42.

their town meetings, they contrived to assemble under various pretexts; and beyond the city, which was overawed by military force, the authority of government entirely ceased. No courts could be held, jurors sworn in, or fines levied, in any part of the province. The governor durst not, in accordance with his instructions, either go to reside at Salem, or transfer thither the custom-house or any of the courts. A provincial congress wielded the whole power, and the friends of government were obliged either to submit, or to seek refuge in the capital. Gage considered it necessary to place a guard, and throw up some works at the neck of land which joins it to the continent; thereby augmenting the general discontent.*

The townsmen of Boston, as they had placed themselves in the front of the contest, and were alone affected by the shutting of the harbour, had felt apprehension as to the degree of support they might receive from the other colonies. The latter, however, as soon as the intelligence reached them, unanimously identified themselves with Massachusetts. Virginia as usual took the foremost step. The house of burgesses, being in session, immediately appointed the day of closing the port to be one of fasting and deep humiliation; a proceeding so offensive to the governor, that he at once dissolved the meeting. Yet eighty-one, a great majority, formed themselves into an association, and passed resolutions expressive of strong indignation. They also anticipated Boston in the proposition for a general congress, and early in August, a convention met and nominated six members, among whom was George Washington. The more southern colonies, notwithstanding their remoteness, embraced the cause if possible with greater fervour. Newburn, in North Carolina, adopted and re-echoed all the declarations of Virginia. From Charleston, Governor Bull wrote that the spirit of resistance was violent and universal; in

* Despatches in Parliamentary Register, vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

some from principle, in others from the dread that they would otherwise be loaded with all the variety of British taxation. The assembly, though summoned at ten, met at eight in the morning; on learning which, the governor hastened to the place, but before he could arrive, five deputies to congress were elected. At Wilmington, the people determined to send supplies to Boston, "to alleviate her distress, and induce her to maintain with prudence and firmness the glorious cause in which she at present suffered." Even from Savannah, Sir James Wright complained of the phrensy among the people, and their lawless proceedings; yet any attempt to prosecute must only have been laughed at, since no grand jury would find a bill. New York was the state where the government met with the strongest support. The country was almost completely tranquil, and in the city, though zeal and excitement were active, there was a considerable body of moderate men, and not a few zealous maintainers of British connexion. The male-contents were thus unable to carry their measures in the assembly; but in town meetings, and in one or two detached districts, members were elected, who were without scruple received into congress.*

Pennsylvania embraced the general cause with great firmness, yet with some moderation, and a desire to conciliate. Governor Penn having been in vain solicited to call an assembly, a general meeting was held, and a convention of delegates from the different provinces brought together in July, at Philadelphia. Having appointed delegates to the congress, which was to meet there, they drew up instructions, expressing in strong terms their deep distress at the unhappy differences between Great Britain and the colonies, and their ardent desire for a restoration of the ancient harmony. It was farther declared that, provided the mother-country would renounce the rights of internal legislation and taxation, and consent to the liberation of Boston, they would con-

* Despatches in Parliamentary Register, vol. i. p. 72-93.

sider it expedient to satisfy the India Company, and to grant to his majesty a certain annual revenue. Mr Dickinson, a man of superior ability, was the author of these proposals, and exerted himself also to soften down the impetuous zeal of the New England patriots, particularly of Mr Quincy, their leader. He wrote to him, representing that nothing could now betray the cause except one colony breaking the line, and rushing before the rest; intimating that such state would be left to perish. The other, while not absolutely dissenting from these maxims, observed that they could ill be acted upon by a body smarting under a treble pressure of public oppression, "insulted, galled from without, and vexed within;" that some indulgence ought to be shown, if they became impatient under the experiments, delays, and refinements of the Philadelphians, whose sufferings were so much lighter. He even expressed a dread of the prevalence of timid and lukewarm counsels, which would inevitably enslave them.*

The congress, destined to change the face of America, met at Philadelphia on the 5th September 1774. They determined that their deliberations should be secret, that the results should be given to the world as unanimous, and no difference of opinion allowed to transpire. A committee was immediately appointed to report upon the rights violated, the injuries sustained, and the means of redress. Separate ones were afterwards named to prepare addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the king, to the colonists, and to the Canadians. These documents being submitted to congress, and having undergone some revisal and alteration, were produced to the world. The grievances complained of were chiefly the imposition of taxes by the British parliament, the quartering of troops, and the several acts relating to Massachusetts. Their demand was to be replaced in exactly the same state as at the conclusion of the last war. No mention was introduced of the Pennsylvanian concilia-

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 274-278. Parliamentary Register, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

tory propositions,—the voluntary grant of a revenue, or compensation to the company. No acknowledgment was made of any errors committed by their countrymen, requiring apology or atonement. They merely undertook to provide for their civil government, for an effective militia, and in case of war, to exert their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising men. The people of Massachusetts were strictly enjoined not to submit to any act under the new constitution. The time, however, was considered not yet come for resisting by force. They were to make an attempt to gain their objects by a solemn engagement, that, after the 1st December 1774, no article should be imported from the mother-country or her colonies; and if by the 10th September 1775 their demands were not satisfied, all exports to these quarters should cease. In the petition to the king, their expressions of duty and loyalty were strong, more so than in the first draft, which, in this respect, was considered deficient. To the people of Britain they expressed an ardent desire to maintain the union as their greatest glory and happiness, and to contribute with their utmost power to the welfare of the whole empire. They concluded, however,—"but if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."*

The intelligence of most of these proceedings had reached Britain before the meeting of parliament in November 1774. The king's speech announced the violences committed in Massachusetts and countenanced by the other colonies, declaring a resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the authority

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 283-292.

of the British legislature. This was re-echoed by large majorities in both houses, though under a protest by nine lords, a proceeding very unusual on such occasions. Parliament was soon after prorogued; and ministers do not seem to have formed any fixed resolution, as they made no increase in the votes either for the army or navy. In the course of the recess, however, farther intelligence being received, the determination was at length formed to employ coercive measures. As a prelude, Lord North, when the houses met on the 19th January 1775, laid before them a large mass of documents received from the governors of the different colonies, and which were submitted to a committee.*

On the 20th, proceedings were opened by Lord Chatham proposing an address to the king for the removal of the troops from Boston. "Something," he said, "must be done instantly; there must be no farther delay—no, not for a moment; the thing might be over; one drop of blood shed, and the wound was incurable." This army could serve no useful purpose, since it could never subdue the whole American people; it was an army of impotence—an army of irritation. He again justified the colonists in resisting such measures as those imposed on them, and panegyrized the congress as having displayed a higher wisdom than the assemblies of ancient Greece; he wished the young men of this country would imitate them. The oppressive acts *must* be repealed. "I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not." It is better then to concede with a good grace, than to hold out till compelled by necessity. Yet he still stood for the legislative supremacy of this country, and even conceived that without it the British crown would not be worth the wearing. The motion was supported by Shelburne, Camden, Rockingham, and Richmond; but ministers urged, not without some reason, that to recede at this moment, after having gone so far, and in the face

* Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 199, &c.

of such a daring resistance, would really amount to a complete submission, and involve the loss of all our authority. They reproached the mover with sowing divisions, and giving encouragement to the malecontents. The motion was negatived by 68 to 18. His lordship, however, immediately followed it up by a bill for settling the transatlantic troubles. It proposed to renounce the power of taxation, but to call upon congress to acknowledge the supreme legislative power of Britain, and invite them to make a free grant of a certain annual revenue, to be employed in meeting the charge on the national debt. All the obnoxious acts were then to be repealed. The Earl of Dartmouth was willing that it should lie on the table; but this was strongly condemned and opposed by the other members, and, after a warm debate, was negatived, though 32 against 61 voted in its favour. Lord Camden afterwards bitterly reproached the house, that a plan coming from so high a quarter should, without examination, have been spurned and trampled upon. "Obliterate," said he, "the transaction from your records; let not posterity know it."

The minister, meantime, in a committee of the Commons, intimated his plans for coercing the colonies, by sending out an additional force, and by crushing the foreign trade and fisheries of New England. He proposed an address approving these measures, declaring Massachusetts to be in rebellion, and assuring his majesty of full support in maintaining his just rights and those of parliament. After some stormy debates, in which the usual arguments were reiterated, it was carried in both houses; in the lower by 296 to 106; in the upper by 87 to 27; eighteen peers protesting. This was followed, on a royal message, by an additional vote of 2000 seamen, and 4400 land troops. The minister then brought into the Commons his anti-commercial bill against New England, afterwards extended to the other colonies. This was represented as a just punishment for their contumacious proceedings, and only a fair retaliation of the similar course adopted by congress.

It encountered the usual opposition, Lord Camden saying: "it is a bill of war, it draws the sword." Rash and contemptuous expressions were used by members on the government side. General Grant declared that, with five regiments of infantry, he would drive them from one end of the continent to the other. Lord Sandwich described them as a raw, undisciplined, cowardly rabble, who, at the first sound of cannon, would run off as fast as their feet could carry them; their real object, he declared, was to defraud their creditors. Lord Suffolk, secretary of state, censured the use of contumelious expressions, and represented the measure to be merely temporary, with the view of bringing the Americans to their duty. It was carried as usual by large majorities,—188 to 58 in the one house; 73 to 21 in the other.*

After this series of coercive measures, Lord North, who had occasionally shown some symptoms of relenting, surprised the house by a conciliatory proposition. Its tenor was, that when the assembly in any colony should propose, besides maintaining its own civil government, to raise a certain revenue, and make it disposable by parliament, it would be proper to forbear imposing any tax unless for the regulation of commerce. To these terms, it was objected by the parliamentary friends of the colonists, and afterwards by themselves, that they remedied no grievance except taxation, and even on that head contained nothing specific. It referred all to a future decision of the British legislature, in whose friendly disposition they were far from confiding. The premier had also to sustain a hot fire from his usual supporters, who branded this step as grossly inconsistent with the address and with all the other measures. He was obliged to represent that the rejection of these terms, admitted as highly probable, would at least increase the number of the well-affected, and divide the malecontents. The proposal was carried by 274 to 88.

* Parliamentary Register (1775), p. 6-99. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 184-190

Mr Burke then brought forward, and eloquently supported, a series of resolutions, in which, without entering into any question of speculative right, a complete practical concession was made of the points in dispute. Their fate might be easily conjectured, being negatived by 270 to 78. The mercantile interest, however, smarting under the cessation of intercourse, adopted with ardour the cause of the colonists. On the 10th April, an address was presented to the king by the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, condemning all the late measures against the Americans, and pronouncing their resistance justifiable. A stern answer was returned, expressing astonishment that any subject should be capable of abetting and encouraging such rebellious courses.

The British government appears, after all, to have cherished a strong desire for pacification. Dr Franklin being still resident in London, two gentlemen, with the consent of some of the ministry, earnestly solicited him to suggest some conciliatory plan. He drew up, under the title of "Hints," seventeen propositions, embracing of course all the demands of America, conceding payment for the tea, and certain contributions of revenue. While these were under discussion, Lord Howe procured an introduction to him, and expressed an earnest wish for reconciliation, though he was afraid the terms would never be accepted. On the 4th February 1775, however, two months after their delivery, an answer was returned, agreeing, in an extent at least likely to be satisfactory, to the whole, except the abolition of the new constitution of Massachusetts. This, it was said, as being a real improvement, and as a standing example of the power of parliament, must be continued. Franklin answered, that the claim of altering the charters and rights upon which the governments were founded, without the consent of the parties to whom they had been granted, was one which could never be submitted to. Yet another series of proposals were on the 16th February presented from the ministry, but as they did not con-

cede this article, the negotiation was unhappily broken up.*

Meantime, affairs in America were inevitably hurried on in the course to which they had long been tending. General Gage, who had summoned the Massachusetts Assembly to meet at Salem on the 5th October 1774, felt that, in the tumultuary state of the country, he could not with safety repair thither to open it. Learning also that of thirty-six councillors named by him, though twenty-four had at first accepted, the greater number were induced or compelled to resign, he issued a proclamation countermanding the writs; but the members, treating it as illegal, repaired at the time appointed to Salem. There they even went through the form of waiting a day, as if for the governor, and then removed their sittings to Concord, about twenty miles in the interior. Hence they sent out directions for all the branches of administration, the disciplining of the militia, the retaining of the taxes in the hands of the revenue-officers for patriotic purposes, and the collection of arms and ammunition. They remonstrated with Gage on the increase of troops, the fortifying of Boston, and other hostile proceedings; but he repelled their complaints, and warned them that their own meeting was altogether illegal. He had again recourse to a proclamation enjoining that no regard should be paid to their usurped authority; instead of which, his mandates were entirely disregarded, while theirs met with implicit obedience. They adjourned, but met again by appointment at Cambridge, on the 4th February. They then announced to the people that the tenor of the king's speech, and other information, afforded little prospect of compliance with their reasonable demands; on the contrary, numerous reinforcements were expected to reduce them to ignominious submission. The most strenuous exhortations were therefore employed to induce them to improve their military discipline, and to collect firearms and bayonets.†

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 315-322. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 127, &c.
† Marshall, vol. ii. p. 229-234. Pitkin, vol. i. p. 302.

General Gage had hitherto, probably under instructions from home, avoided every movement which could bring on a collision, and lead to a commencement of actual war. Yet, remaining almost besieged at Boston, he began to experience scarcity of provisions; and an impression was felt, that something must be done to check these extensive preparations, and seize the military stores now collected all over the country. He formed the injudicious plan of sending out secretly small detachments to capture them by surprise. Even if successful, which was not very probable, the adoption of such a scheme must have lowered the impression of British power. If the troops were to march into the country, it should have been in such large bodies as would overpower, and even deter resistance. A small party sent towards Salem were induced to return, owing to the mere obstacles raised by the country people against their march.

The governor, having learned that a considerable magazine of stores had been formed at Concord, determined on an attempt to seize them. He employed a larger force, but trusted still to secrecy and surprise. On the night of the 19th April 1775, Colonel Smith began his march, seeking to conceal it by sending forward some horsemen to arrest all travellers on the road. Dr Warren, from Boston, however, having contrived to transmit previous notice, they had not advanced far when the firing of guns and the ringing of bells were heard, summoning the people to arms. They pushed forward nearly fifteen miles, and at five in the morning reached Lexington, where about a hundred militia were exercising on a green. The events which followed, and form the fatal crisis of this great contest, are involved in a cloud of controversy which will never perhaps be fully cleared away. According to the statement of the Americans, supported even by affidavits, Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloped up, calling, "Disperse, rebels! throw down your arms and disperse;" the soldiers then ran up huzzaing; some muskets were fired, followed by a general discharge. The English asserted that the summons to

disperse was slowly and reluctantly obeyed, and that, meantime, some shots were fired from behind walls, which being returned, the contest soon became general. Probably, in this critical moment, there was rashness on both sides.

The troops, who drove the militia before them, proceeding about four miles farther, arrived at Concord; and while the main body were destroying the stores, a detachment was sent forward to occupy two bridges beyond. It was surrounded by the colonists in great numbers, and in a threatening attitude; a firing was commenced, but returned with such vigour, that the party were obliged to fall back upon the main body. The whole then began a retrograde movement to Boston; but the Americans, in increasing numbers, attacked them incessantly on their rear and flanks, firing from houses, trees, and behind walls. The British, accordingly, when they arrived at Lexington, found themselves in a most exhausted state; and it is alleged that they would have been totally destroyed, but for a timely succour. General Gage had sent forward Lord Percy with sixteen companies and two pieces of cannon, who drove back the provincials, and forming a square, protected their countrymen while they lay down to recruit their strength. All together then proceeded to Boston; while the assailants, without attempting to obstruct their march, kept up an incessant fire, both in front and rear, from behind stone fences, which are there very numerous. On their arrival, they found that they had lost 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 27 missing; while the Americans, who fought mostly from under cover, acknowledged only 50 killed and 38 wounded.*

The intelligence of this event excited the utmost enthusiasm throughout Massachusetts, and the whole country was soon arrayed in a warlike form. The people were studiously assured that a wanton attack had been made; while the degree of success gained

* Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 213-215. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 257-260.

by their undisciplined force against regular troops, inspired the most sanguine hopes and military ardour. The provisional congress immediately passed a vote for raising 13,600 men, and called upon the other New England colonies for their respective quotas, making in all 30,000. Measures were also taken to obtain a loan of £100,000. The provincials crowded to the standard in numbers greater than could be maintained in the field; and the levies were placed under the command of Ward and other officers, who had acquired experience in the last war, and were now raised from the rank of colonel to that of general. The fortifications of Boston were considered sufficiently strong to preclude the hazard of any attack; but a line of thirty miles was formed around the peninsula, entirely cutting off its connexion with the surrounding country.

Meantime, an adventurous scheme was formed by two determined leaders, the colonels Arnold and Allen. Having collected a small body of troops in Connecticut, they proceeded against the strong fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderago,—the keys of Canada. Traversing undiscovered the immense tracts, then almost desert, that lay to the north of New England, they completely surprised and captured, without resistance, both these important places, each containing a valuable supply of military stores. Arnold was equally successful against a sloop of war lying at St John's, and thus obtained the command of Lake Champlain.*

Meantime congress, having met on the 10th May, received a report of these transactions, which called for their most earnest consideration. Some it is said were unprepared for so serious a result; but the general resolution was to follow it up, and place all the colonies in a posture of military defence. Still, before adopting any active measures, they determined, though with some dissentient voices, to make fresh appeals to the king and people of Great Britain. To his majesty they professed

* Marshall, vol. ii, p. 261-265.

as strongly as ever their devotion to his person, family, and government; their deep regret at any event which could weaken their connexion with his crown, and their ardent desire for the restoration of harmony. To the people they strenuously repelled the charge of aiming at independence, which none of their actions were said to justify. They had never made overtures to any foreign power, nor availed themselves of the weak state of the cities, to become masters of them. The late hostilities had been merely the repulse of a wanton attack; they had lamented the wounds they were obliged to give, and had not yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen. The armies were said to be raised with objects purely defensive, and the fortresses seized merely as a preventive against invasion from Canada. Complaining, however, that the clemency of their sovereign was diverted, that their petitions were treated with indignity, and that their prayers were answered by insults, they dreaded that the nation wanted either the will or the power to assist them. In that case, they expressed a firm determination that, "while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered;—your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts; these are inconsiderable objects,—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want,—the luxury of being free."*

Having emitted these declarations, congress proceeded to make military arrangements which should comprehend the whole range of the colonies. All the troops within their limits were to be now called the Continental Army; committees were appointed to devise ways and means for supporting and supplying it with arms and stores, and preparing regulations for its government.

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 329-332. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 278-288.

An issue of paper-money was voted to the amount of three millions of dollars. The first object was considered to be the choice of a commander, and in this respect they were singularly fortunate. There had at this time sprung up among them an uncommon number of men of distinguished abilities; and though some were in this respect superior to him, it was generally agreed that the fittest person was George Washington. Without very brilliant talents, or even very extensive information, he possessed sound sense, comprehensive views, a deep and devoted patriotism. These had been displayed in a manner so firm, simple, and manly, as rendered it impossible even to entertain a doubt of the thorough dependence which might be placed on his fidelity to the cause. A bold and enterprising spirit was tempered with a feeling of actual difficulties, sometimes even extreme, which prevented it from degenerating into rashness. His steady honour and humanity softened the horrors of a contest, which among the lower class of statesmen excited the most imbittered feelings. Apprehensions were entertained that Massachusetts, in virtue of her great exertions, would claim the nomination; but Mr Adams, her leading deputy, was the first to propose the Virginian, and the recommendation, being submitted to ballot, was unanimously approved. Next day the choice was announced to him, when, in a plain, modest reply, he expressed his high sense of the honour, not concealing the pain which arose from a consciousness that his abilities and military experience might not be equal to so mighty a trust. Yet he assured them, he would enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power he possessed in so great a cause. Five hundred dollars monthly had been voted for his pay and expenses; but being possessed of an ample fortune, he declined any thing beyond the reimbursement of his actual outlay.*

It was at this crisis—certainly not auspicious—that Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived. They

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 138-141. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 298-301.

were accompanied by a circular from Lord Dartmouth, observing that no specific sum had been demanded, in order to leave full scope for that justice and liberality which, from former experience, might be expected. The offers, if coupled with due explanation, would, he remarked, be received with every possible indulgence, provided they were unaccompanied with any claims which the dignity of the king and parliament would render inadmissible. But the colonial assemblies disappointed the hope that division would be thereby sown among them, by unanimously referring the proposal to the decision of congress. Lord North, though he did not choose to communicate directly with that body, caused a copy to be placed in the hands of one of the delegates, with a request that it might be publicly submitted to them. In an accompanying statement, he expressed his earnest hope that these terms would be accepted, as at once honourable to Britain and safe for the colonies. No farther concessions could be granted, to which indeed the spirit of the nation was so directly opposed, that ministers, even if desirous, would be unable to carry them. The propositions, being communicated to congress on the 30th May, were ordered to lie on the table; and notwithstanding the dissatisfaction excited, were afterwards referred to a committee, composed of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and Lee; whose report, decidedly unfavourable, was adopted on the 31st July. The colonies, it was declared, could not submit to be dictated to, either as to the amount or the object of their grants; they could not resign the privilege of appropriating their amount, nor leave its disposal to parliament. The right of Great Britain to demand any contribution was even denied, while she retained the monopoly of their commerce. No renunciation had been made of the right of taxation, nor any redress offered of the other grievances, particularly the alteration of their political charters. Even equitable terms, accompanied with large fleets and armies, and borne on the point of the bayonet, could not, without a great sacrifice, be accepted

by men of free spirits. Reference was made, without perhaps much dignity or propriety, to the opprobrious language used by some members of parliament, to which the house, it was alleged, by not checking them, had made themselves parties. The overture, therefore, was simply rejected, without any concession or counter proposition. One indeed is said to have been drawn up by the assembly of New York, and another by Dr Franklin; but though some conversation was held, neither was taken by congress into any formal consideration.*

Before Washington had reached New England, the tragic character of the great drama had been more fully developed. On the 25th May, large reinforcements arrived from England, commanded by Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, officers of high reputation, and chosen seemingly without any favour or political bias. General Gage, before commencing active operations, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to lay down their arms, and offering a free pardon to all, excepting Adams and Hancock. Far, however, from thinking to take advantage of this offer, they were busily planning the most active operations. A channel, about the breadth of the Thames at London, divides the peninsula of Boston from that of Charlestown, on which last rises Bunker's Hill, the fire from which in some degree commands the capital. On the evening of the 16th June, General Prescot, with 1000 men, having crossed unperceived the isthmus or neck, took possession of that eminence; and such activity did the Americans employ during the night in intrenching it, that by morning they had completed a redoubt and breastwork, flanked by a small river, and forming a very strong position. At daybreak they were discovered, and a cannonade immediately opened from the ships, but without producing much effect, or even interrupting the prosecution of the works. Gage, considering it extremely inexpedient that they should be allowed to retain this position,

* Pitkin, vol. i. p. 337-345.

immediately prepared a strong detachment to expel them. It was not ready till noon, when General Howe, being appointed to command, sailed across, but found the adverse party so strongly posted, that it appeared necessary to wait for a reinforcement; the Americans at the same time receiving one under Dr Warren. Either from accident, or to secure the English position, the village of Charleston was burned. Howe at length began to ascend the hill, while, from the heights around Boston, numerous spectators, agitated by intense and opposite emotions, witnessed the eventful scene. The provincials reserved their fire till the advancing party was within sixty or seventy yards, when they commenced a sudden and general discharge of musketry and rifles, which they used with peculiar skill. So deadly was the effect, that the British troops fell back in confusion; they were rallied, but a second time repulsed; and General Howe is said to have been left at one time almost alone, having every officer around him either killed or wounded. To have suffered a final repulse, however, would have been most disastrous. Clinton, seeing the exigency, hastened across with a fresh detachment; when the British, being led afresh to the charge, rushed upon the intrenchment, and carried it in a few minutes at the point of the bayonet. The Americans precipitately retreated, with little molestation except from a straggling fire by the vessels. The loss on the part of the English was most severe, being stated officially at 226 killed and 828 wounded. The other party reported only 145 slain, with 304 wounded; and though they had lost the field, almost all the glory and advantage was felt to be on their side. The vigorous stand made by their raw levies, and the severe loss inflicted on veteran troops, elevated their courage; while it appalled not a little the power which had undertaken to bring them into subjection.*

Though the centre of the movement was in New England, it extended to other colonies. Virginia had

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 288-294. Adolphus, vol. i. p. 266-270.

from the first taken a forward part; and while Washington represented her in congress, Patrick Henry, one of the most violent of the independent leaders, guided the provincial assembly. Lord Dunmore, the governor, had enjoyed a popularity which he soon forfeited by his efforts against the malecontents; and their resentment was heightened by ministers imprudently laying before parliament some letters, in which he mentioned their proceedings with extreme bitterness. A congress being formed, and measures taken to arm the inhabitants as in New England, the governor judged it necessary to convey a quantity of gunpowder on board a ship of war; whither he afterwards removed his family, and finally himself. The conciliatory plan of Lord North having then come out, was submitted to the assembly, who not only referred it absolutely to the decision of congress, but expressed their own entire dissatisfaction. The governor, finding his power on the continent entirely over, endeavoured to restore it by partial and detached landings, with inadequate force, which irritated without overawing. He had then recourse to the extreme measure of not only summoning all capable of bearing arms to join his standard, but offering liberty to slaves who should follow their example; a step which of course greatly exasperated the proprietary classes. Having thus, however, collected a small force, he took possession of Norfolk, the principal port of Virginia. The provincials assembled a considerable body of troops, and assumed a fortified position on the river Elizabeth; while the English were intrenched on the opposite bank. Captain Fordyce, sent to dislodge them, advanced briskly to the attack, but was warmly received both in front and flank, and his column retreated, though without being pursued. Lord Dunmore was then obliged to retire on board the vessels, where he was still annoyed by discharges from the houses nearest the water. He effected a landing, and set them on fire; when the troops and inhabitants, instead of stopping the conflagration, as they could easily have done, studiously spread it, and the convention

finally ordered the place to be entirely reduced to ashes. This absurd measure, according to Marshall, was prompted by the dread of its being made a military depot, and the hope that war would thus be averted from the colony; motives, he admits most inadequate for the destruction of the largest and most flourishing town in Virginia. Dunmore, however, being unable to make any serious impression, or even to procure provisions, sailed to the West Indies, where he left the negroes, and proceeded to join the main army.*

In North Carolina, Governor Martin was involved in similar controversies with the provincial convention, which also led to his retirement on board a ship of war. In the interior, however, a number of Highlanders recently emigrated from Scotland, were mustered by General M'Donald, who was at first master of the field, but allowed himself to be amused by Moore, the opposite commander, till the country had risen round him. He then attempted a retreat, but was forced into action; several of the best officers were brought down on the first onset by the American rifles, and the rest fled in confusion. Lord William Campbell, governor of South Carolina, was equally obliged to seek security on shipboard, and joined Martin in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Governor Tryon, also, at New York, betook himself to a similar refuge, but still retained command of the harbour, and preserved an intercourse with the numerous loyalists in that quarter. Governors Eden and Franklin in Maryland and New Jersey, contrived to maintain their place, but not to exercise any jurisdiction.†

The colonists had thus experienced an almost uninterrupted career of success, and, with the exception of Boston, England had not a spot left in the whole range of their territory. Yet reflecting men easily saw, that they had prevailed only against an advanced guard

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 441-446. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 291, &c. Remembrancer, vol. ii. pp. 109, 176, 356-359.

† Marshall, vol. ii. pp. 447, 463, 468. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 293, &c.

and scattered detachments, and that the struggle had not yet commenced with the main force of the British empire. Washington, meantime, on proceeding to the army, was received in the most cordial manner, and without the smallest symptom of jealousy; the provincial congress sending a committee to meet him at Springfield on the frontier, and escort him to Boston. He there found 14,500 men, able-bodied, zealous in the cause, and personally courageous, but destitute of almost every element of military organization. A great proportion wanted bayonets, and the alarming discovery was soon made, that they had not above nine rounds of gunpowder. There were no tents, and clothes extremely deficient; there was neither commissary nor quarter-master-general. No combination existed between the troops drawn from different colonies; and the officers, mostly chosen by the men, could exercise scarcely any authority. These evils were the more difficult to remedy, as the army, enlisted only for a short period, would disband in a few months, and be replaced by one composed of raw recruits. In these circumstances, he anxiously desired to make an attack upon Boston, and dislodge the troops before the large expected reinforcements should arrive, when the prospects could not but become gloomy. Yet a council of officers decided, seemingly on good grounds, that such an attempt could have no chance of success; and he was obliged, very reluctantly, to await the turn which events might take.*

The intelligence of these proceedings excited in England that spirit which former examples might lead us to expect. The ministry determined upon the most vigorous measures to put down a movement which had now assumed the character of open insurrection. The nation poured in addresses, which appear to have expressed decided assurances of public support. Penn, the hereditary governor of Pennsylvania, came over with the address from congress to the king, and endeavoured

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 302-315.

to second it, declaring his positive belief that the sentiments expressed in it were sincere. It was rejected, however, as coming from an illegal body, and consisting only of a series of empty professions, which their actions belied. The royal speech at the opening of parliament, on the 26th October 1775, lamented that a desperate faction, by gross misrepresentations, had inflamed the minds of the people, overawed the well-affected, and, amid protestations of loyalty and attachment to the parent state, openly raised the standard of rebellion. It was added that these persons now obviously aimed at total independence, and hence clemency, as well as prudence, called for decisive exertions speedily to put down such disorders; that those of the misled multitude, who should repent of their error, would experience the utmost lenity, and be received into favour, as if they had never revolted; and that individuals on the spot would be invested with discretionary power to grant immediate pardon and indemnity to any province or colony which should return to its allegiance. Offers of aid had been received from several foreign powers; and there was no reason to apprehend hostility or impediment in any quarter.*

The debates now followed their usual train, ministers retaining their inflexible majority, while the opposition displayed unabated energy, and even a small increase of numbers. The Duke of Grafton, who had hitherto been a member of government, declared himself to have been misled by the supposition that their measures would issue in the peaceful adjustment of differences. He now urged a liberal course of conciliation, by repealing all the obnoxious acts passed since 1763; but unable to procure the concurrence of the cabinet, he resigned the seals, and took a decided place in the opposite ranks. The thunders of indignant eloquence were no longer heard from Chatham, who was confined with illness; but Camden, Richmond, and Shelburne, declared Great Britain to have been in every instance the aggres-

* Parl. Register, vol. iii. p. 2-6. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 305-308.

sor, and stigmatized her proceedings as oppressive, cruel, unjust, and unrelenting, while they acquitted America of any design of aiming at independence. Wilkes asserted that ministers had wrested the sceptre out of the hands of the sovereign. Colonel Barré severely censured the conduct of the campaign, and held out the most gloomy prospects. The British army, he said, was a mere wen, a little excrescence, on the vast continent of America. Fox characterized Lord North as the blundering pilot who had brought the vessel of the state into its present difficulties; in one campaign he had lost a whole continent. The provincials, he admitted, were not justifiable to the extent they had gone; yet if they had not resisted at all, he would have thought them still more culpable. Mr Adam, praising his lordship for ability and public virtue, accused him of indolence. The minister admitted this charge, but declared he had been forced into the situation, and had been deceived in events, never imagining that all America would have risen in arms. He pathetically lamented his own situation, under the weight of which, amid all its power and pageantry, he felt himself ready to sink. The rejection by the provincials of his conciliatory plan proved the necessity of using force, yet without the least intention of reducing them to slavery. It was his object, immediately on their submission, to establish a most just, mild, and equitable government. The address, forming a regular echo of the speech, was carried in the Commons by 176 to 72, in the Lords by 75 to 32. A discussion arose on the recent measure of garrisoning Gibraltar and Minorca with Hanoverians, in order to liberate the British troops previously employed, which was attacked as unconstitutional, but defended as indispensable under present circumstances. Some of the friends of ministers brought in a bill of indemnity, which passed the Commons, but in the upper house was negatived as superfluous. In the course of this debate, Governor Pownall in some degree went over to ministers, stating, that at the commencement of this sad business, he had

given them every warning in his power; now he could not advise them to lay down arms, though he still anxiously desired that before spring some mode of conciliation might be devised.*

The Duke of Grafton, in the Lords, moved for accounts of the troops serving and to be employed in America; this was objected to, as giving information to the enemy, and was not pressed. The Duke of Richmond introduced the petition from congress to the king, as an opening for pacification, and seeing in the house Mr Penn from Pennsylvania, obtained with much difficulty permission that he should be examined. That gentleman declared his belief that the colonies were willing to acknowledge the legislative authority of Britain, and did not aim at independence; but they were determined to resist arbitrary taxation, and the other obnoxious acts, so that if no concessions were made, they would probably not hesitate in seeking the aid of foreign powers. The duke's motion, that the petition afforded a ground for conciliation, was, after a warm debate, rejected by 86 to 39.

In the Commons, Mr Burke brought forward a plan which, avoiding all extremes, would, he hoped, conciliate both parties. It included the repeal of the Boston and Massachusetts acts; a declaration that Britain would not tax America; a general amnesty; and the calling of a congress by royal authority to adjust the remaining differences. Lord North showed some leaning to the motion, declaring if he thought it would lead to conciliation, he should be staggered; but he could not believe so. Lord George Germain, who had recently joined the ministry, strenuously argued that concession must be preceded by submission. Even Pownall insisted that any thing short of repealing every measure since 1763, would not now avail, and would uselessly present Great Britain in a humbled aspect as suing for peace. This motion, however, which we incline to think might yet have saved

* Parliamentary Register, vol. iii. p. 6-162. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 305-314.

America, commanded a larger minority than any former question, being not less than 105 to 210. Mr Hartley followed with a proposal of much larger concession, but could only command 21 against 123.*

Meantime, Lord North was carrying through a bill prohibiting all trade or intercourse with the colonies till they should submit. The Boston port and other restraining acts were repealed, as being all merged in this greater measure; and the regulations for the trial of the male-contents became unnecessary, when the country was to be subjected to martial law. Commissioners were to go out with full powers, not only to restore any colony, on submission, to all its privileges, but to inquire into and redress its well-founded complaints. This measure was opposed with extreme warmth in all its stages, as ruinous to Great Britain, and in fact proceeding on the principle adopted by the colonists themselves. The opposition, justifying the resistance of the latter, were branded by ministry as defenders, and little better than adherents, of rebellion. The bill was carried by sweeping majorities, 112 to 16; 78 to 19.†

The determination being thus formed to employ force, the requisite means were to be provided. In the estimates, the number of seamen was fixed at 28,000, of land forces at 55,000; but the difficulty lay in making up this latter number. The troops at Boston, amounting to 7400, were manifestly inadequate; while in Britain there was merely the small peace establishment considered necessary for the security of the country. The levying of a new army by voluntary enlistment was difficult and tedious; while an additional time would be required for its training. In this exigency, ministers saw no expedient except that of having recourse to several German princes, who on former occasions had been induced, partly by alliance, but more by pecuniary motives, to hire out their soldiers for temporary service. In the beginning,

* Adolphus, vol. ii. pp. 315-324, 333, 334. Parliamentary Register, vol. iii. pp. 182-195, 256-272.

† Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 335-338.

therefore, of 1776, treaties were concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for 12,104 men, the Duke of Brunswick for 4084, the Prince of Hesse for 668, and the Prince of Waldeck for 670; in all, 17,526. These rulers, keeping in view the extreme necessity of the British government, extorted very advantageous terms. The sum of £7, 4s. 4d. was to be paid for each man; and besides being relieved from the whole burden of their maintenance, they were to receive compensation for all extraordinary losses, in addition to certain stipends amounting in all to about £135,000, not only during the whole period of their engagement, but considerably longer. Besides this heavy charge, the employment of foreign mercenaries, subjects of despotic princes, aggravated much the odium of the undertaking. Yet if ministers were to engage in prompt and decisive measures for forcibly reducing America, they do not seem, under the circumstances, to have had any other resource.*

These treaties, however, being in the end of February laid before parliament, afforded ample theme of invective. Their enormous expense, with the unconstitutional and dangerous tendency of introducing into the empire such vast bodies of mercenaries, were dwelt on at great length. The most gloomy views were taken of the condition and prospects of the British force. The Duke of Manchester observed, that the defection from government was total,—"total, my lords, besides the desolated prison of English troops, the devoted Boston." He saw little prospect of success with bands of German mercenaries and raw English recruits, said to be partly drawn from prisons. Earl Temple, however, while he deeply felt the imbecility of ministers, and the deplorable condition of the country, would not now obstruct their plan of making peace sword in hand. He hoped the first opportunity of doing so would be seized; at present the die of war was cast; it was time to act, not talk. Townshend saw no reason to doubt the war being ended in a

* Adolphus, vol. i. pp. 314, 351, 352. Parliamentary Register, vol. iii. pp. 287-310, 504-508.

single campaign. The measures were carried, and the adverse motion negatived, by the usual majorities. The Duke of Grafton moved in the Lords an address, recommending such a proclamation as might lead to a suspension of arms; Mr Hartley in the Commons, that instructions should be given to the commissioners tending to that issue; while Mr Fox called for inquiry into the causes of the bad success of his Majesty's arms. All these motions had the ordinary fortune.*

We must now return across the Atlantic, where the contest was actively carried on. In the autumn of 1775, the Americans formed a plan for invading Canada, knowing that country to be very slightly defended, and believing the inhabitants well affected to the popular cause. A force of about 3000 men, levied in Connecticut, was placed under the command, first of Schuyler, and then of Montgomery. The latter officer, proceeding along Lake Champlain, speedily reduced Fort Chambly, and after considerable difficulty, obliged that of St John also to surrender. Colonel Ethen Allen had already attempted Montreal, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Montgomery, however, with his whole force, marched upon that city, and compelled Carleton to retreat precipitately upon Quebec. Meantime, Arnold, a daring partisan, had at his own request been despatched, with 1100 men, to penetrate to that capital by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudière, hoping thus to take it by surprise. The route was then nearly desert, intersected by dense forests and swamps; he nevertheless overcame every difficulty, and, on the 9th November, arrived undiscovered at Point Levi, on the opposite bank. But want of conveyance detained him there several days, during which, the active exertions of Colonel Maclean placed the town in such a state of defence, that the American chief was obliged to await the arrival of Montgomery. This officer, who took the command on the 1st December, soon saw that a regular siege, amid the

* Parliamentary Register, vol. v. p. 187-255; vol. iv. pp. 268, 330.

rigours of a Canadian winter, would involve such sufferings and privations as his raw levies could scarcely endure. He therefore determined on a night assault, which was made with the greatest intrepidity, but completely baffled. His troops were repulsed at every point, and he himself fell, deeply and generally lamented. Arnold, wounded in the assault, retreated up the river; and though he stood his ground some time, was ultimately obliged to evacuate Canada.* This first reverse sustained by the cause was severe, yet the signal displays of gallantry on the part of the provincial officers prevented its influence from being on the whole very depressing.

Washington, meantime, laboured under accumulated difficulties in prosecuting the blockade of Boston. The scarcity of ammunition, notwithstanding every effort of congress, continued almost unabated; while the want of money as well as of necessary equipments was deeply felt on the advance of the rigorous season. With all his energy and firmness, he seems to have been exceedingly sensitive to troubles and opposition. He describes his situation as inexpressibly distressing,—the winter approaching on an army at once naked and without a dollar; and declares that unless some remedy were devised, the force must be broken up. Amid all these distresses, it was necessary to keep up a good face towards the enemy, while many on his own side, exaggerating both the numbers and efficiency of his troops, wondered he should remain inactive, and not have already driven the English out of Boston. These criticisms touched him sensibly; yet as a true patriot, he carefully concealed the explanation, which, reaching the opposite party, would have produced fatal effects. Even congress, with a jealousy of military power in his case very unjust, were indisposed to measures most requisite for the success of his army. As none of any importance could

* This series of events belongs more properly to Canada, and has been detailed much more fully in the Account of British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 180-182.

be taken without their concurrence, as well as that of the provincial assemblies, they were always delayed, and often obstructed.

An imminent danger now impended; December approached, when the troops, having been enlisted for only one year, were all entitled to return home. To this subject the commander earnestly solicited the attention of congress, and on the 18th October, a commitee of their number, Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison, arrived at his head-quarters. Being persons of judgment, they arranged matters very satisfactorily. Authority was given to levy twenty-six regiments, estimated at somewhat above 20,000 men, independently of militia. Congress would not consent, however, to the enlistment for more than a year, nor would they, till January next, agree to grant a bounty. Washington made the strongest appeals to the men, entreating them by every motive of honour and patriotism to adhere to those standards under which they had gloriously fought. But that ardent impulse which had called them to arms was now sensibly cooled; and when the time arrived, not above 5000 had engaged. These were afterwards reinforced; but this dissolution of one army and assemblage of another in the face of an enemy whose force was constantly increasing, placed the commander in a very critical situation.*

He was also harassed from another quarter. The English in Boston, being straitened for provisions, sought to procure them by descents on different parts of the coast, treating the inhabitants, who were uniformly hostile, with very little ceremony. Falmouth suffered such a severe cannonade and bombardment, as to reduce it to ashes; and it was reported or dreaded that a similar fate impended over the other seaports. Urgent applications were made to the commander-in-chief for aid; but he represented, that his army was barely adequate to blockade Boston, and could not be broken down into detachments for local objects, which ought to be pro-

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 159-163. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 329-335.

vided for by the militia of the districts. His views were sanctioned by congress. He endeavoured, however, to protect the shore by forming a small marine, placing troops on board the vessels; and in a few weeks six schooners were fitted out. They were fortunate enough soon to capture a ship laden with military stores, most valuable for the supply of the army. In other respects this force was for some time inefficient, and its discipline very imperfect; but it was gradually improved; prize courts and regulations were formed; and its privateering operations proved ultimately very harassing to the British.*

Meantime, General Gage remained inactive at Boston; a course generally condemned by historians as at once unaccountable and shameful. Yet, besides being by no means fully aware of Washington's weakness, he assigns other reasons which appear conclusive. Though he might have dislodged the enemy from their present position, little would be gained by marching into the interior of New England, a territory full of people animated with peculiar zeal in the cause of independence, and which, though containing many small towns, offered no central or leading point of attack. He must merely have moved from place to place, continually harassed by that desultory warfare in which they had shown themselves to excel. In the beginning of October he was recalled, without any expression of displeasure, yet probably under the impression of the disasters which the cause had sustained in his hands, and the hope that it might be more fortunate in those of another. The command then devolved upon Howe, who concurred with his predecessor as to the inexpediency of advancing into the interior of New England. He submitted to the cabinet another plan, by which Boston should be held only till the close of the winter, and the troops there, with all those expected from the mother-country, be then concentrated at New York, and the main attack made from that quarter. The inhabitants

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 319-321. Sparks, vol. i. pp. 159, 160.

were more friendly, and by striking at the heart of the Union, he would separate the northern and southern states, and then, according to circumstances, carry on operations against either. This plan, which, with one exception hereafter noticed, appears able and judicious, was approved by Lord Dartmouth.*

Washington, meantime, was very slowly recruiting his army, which, at the beginning of February, did not reach quite 9000 men. Being at that period permitted to offer a bounty, he had in a month collected above 14,000, reinforced by 6000 Massachusetts militia. He considered this force sufficient to attack the city; but a council of officers decided, probably with reason, that such an attempt offered no chance of success. They proposed rather to seize and fortify the peninsular point named Dorchester Neck, whence the harbour would be in a great degree commanded, and the place, it was hoped, rendered untenable. To this he consented, though, it is said, with great chagrin; and the execution of the movement was intrusted to Ward. The British were amused two days by an incessant cannonade and bombardment; till at night-fall of the 4th March, General Thomas, with a working body of 1200, a covering force of 800, and 300 carts of materials, marched undiscovered, and took possession of the most elevated part of the heights. The Americans, being chiefly practical farmers, were extremely skilful in intrenching, and laboured with such diligence, that in the morning, the English with astonishment beheld them in a strongly fortified position. The admiral then gave notice to Howe, that the harbour could not be deemed secure as long as this post was held by the enemy. Lord Percy, with 3000 men, was employed to dislodge them; but a violent storm rendered the operation impossible, and before it dispersed, the works were considered beyond the reach of assault. Washington had prepared a select corps to attack the town, while its main force should be directed against the heights; but

* Letters in Parliamentary Register, vol. xi. p. 260-263.

this project, never very feasible, was now of course given up. The British commander then prepared to evacuate the place, and indeed its maintenance was of little importance, since its early relinquishment formed part of the plan of the campaign; yet the apparent triumph thus afforded to the opposite party was an unfortunate circumstance, which should have been vigilantly guarded against. Besides, as no arrangements were yet made for landing at New York, it became necessary to proceed first to Halifax, involving a great loss of time. About a fortnight was employed in preparing for the embarkation, a hazardous movement in the face of a superior army; but though Washington watched the opportunity of attacking, he found no means of attempting it with any advantage. On the 17th, the whole force was on board, and after remaining a few days in Nantucket roads, sailed towards Halifax. General Putnam immediately entered Boston, which was found strongly fortified, and quite uninjured. Washington entertained great apprehension that the city would be destroyed, though the English seem never to have entertained any such idea; and some cannon and stores, which could not be carried away, became available to him.*

The American general had for some time suspected the

* Gordon, vol. ii. p. 189-192. Sparks, vol. ii. p. 172-174. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 363-369. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 386. Parliamentary Register, vol. xi. pp. 299, 300. A wild story was circulated at the time, of Howe having sent for the select men of Boston, and threatened to burn the city if Washington attempted to annoy his embarkation. (See Remembrancer, vol. iii. p. 105-108.) There appears to have been some communication between the two parties, probably on the application of the latter, but certainly nothing answering to the statement just made, which has been copied into some inferior American works, but into none at all respectable. We cannot, therefore, but wonder to find M. Botta adopting the original fable in its fullest extent, drawing a graphic picture of the general sending for the select men, and exhibiting to them the "materie accendibili," that were to reduce Boston to ashes, "raccommanddo gli la misera citta," vol. ii. p. 272. The same story reappears in a recent English work coming from high authority,—Library of Useful Knowledge, American Revolution, vol. i. p. 27.

intended direction of the invading force against New York. This was the more dreaded, as the feeling in favour of the royal cause was there very strong, especially in the city; while Captain Parker still commanded the harbour, and Queen's County in Long Island had refused to send deputies to the provincial convention. The congress had ordered a party of troops to enter that district, and seize the arms of all the royalists; but this injunction was afterwards withdrawn, a step much disapproved by Washington. He hesitated not to sanction the proposal of General Lee, one of the most enterprising of the provincial leaders, who hastily raised a body of troops in Connecticut, advanced by forced marches upon New York, and disregarding the remonstrances of the inhabitants, occupied the city, and began to erect fortifications on its different sides. After the evacuation of Boston, the commander-in-chief left it defended by a comparatively small force under Ward, and proceeded with the main army to New York, where he arrived on the 13th April.

As some months would still elapse before the British could assemble their troops and open the general campaign, they determined to send an expedition immediately against the southern states, where the climate would oppose no obstacle, and a decisive blow might be struck with a smaller army. Botta censures this course as weakening their force by division. Had he, however, perused the official despatches, he would have seen that concentration formed the original plan of the campaign, and that this enterprise was merely to fill up the interval till the whole should be mustered. A chimerical hope was even cherished, that Clinton, the commander, might pursue a victorious career northwards, till he should join Howe at New York; at all events, he was instructed to be there before the opening of the campaign.* After touching at New York, he joined Governor Martin, near Cape Fear; but the main force was to con-

* Parliamentary Register, vol. xi. p. 289.

sist of seven regiments conveyed from England by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis. Various contingencies delayed its arrival till the beginning of May; and June came before the expedition reached Charleston, its destination. Its movements, and an intercepted letter, had by that time betrayed the design. The most active preparations were made, the principal inhabitants labouring in concert with the lower classes, aided by a numerous body of slaves. The defences were greatly strengthened, and a new fort named Moultrie erected on Sulivan's Island, separated by a narrow creek from a larger one named Long Island, commanded the entrance. Between 5000 and 6000 men were assembled, nearly half of them regulars, and the command was taken by General Lee, who seemed to court every post of danger.

The expedition arrived on the 4th June, and the troops were landed on Long Island; yet from various obstacles, the attack was not made till the 28th. The fleet comprised two ships of fifty guns, and six bearing from twenty to thirty; but three of the latter, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, were entangled in shoals, and could not be brought into action. The others, stationed before the fort, opened a tremendous fire, which was kept up with the greatest energy and spirit. The defenders maintained their post with equal firmness; and the walls, though low, were composed of a firm spongy palmetto wood, in which the balls sunk without shattering them. The garrison returned a cool, steady, and remarkably well directed fire, which did terrible execution; the ships were rendered almost unmanageable, several of the chief officers fell, and the commodore was at one time left alone on his own deck. Clinton, from the land-side, did not co-operate, having unexpectedly found the creek impassable. He offered, by conveying over two battalions, to effect a diversion in favour of the naval commander; but the latter, he complains, returned no answer, being too confident, and ambitious of doing the whole himself. The fleet finally moved off in a most shattered state, having lost about 200 men,

including Lord William Campbell and other officers of rank; while the other party had thirty-five killed and wounded. The whole affair was most unfortunate, adding another to the series of successes gained by the new levies, and inspiring them with fresh courage.*

During the course of this winter, a momentous design was in active progress, which had a very important issue. Several leading men, particularly in New England, had, from the beginning, extended their views to the entire dissolution of their connexion with Britain. Overpowered, however, by a majority of their own number, and by the force of public opinion, they did not openly acknowledge their designs, but watched the train of events. Down to 1775, the great body of the people seem to have entertained no wish, or even idea, of final separation; though in the course of that year, some partial movements began in its favour. In May, a convention in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, declared for it, but the example was nowhere followed. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, and other royal colonies, being left without a government, authority was given to the people to establish one for themselves, limited to the continuance of the dispute with the mother-country. Towards the close of the year, detached parties every where began openly to pronounce for independence; yet the general feeling was still strong against it. This sentiment was forcibly expressed by the assemblies of New York and New Jersey, the latter declaring "their detestation of that horrid measure." Dr Franklin, though not openly professing it, circulated articles of union and confederation; but they were coldly received, and not even sanctioned by congress.

In spring 1776, news was received that their petition had been rejected; that they had been declared rebels; that large armies were preparing to subdue them; and that their whole commerce was utterly prohibited. Thenceforth a large majority of the leading men formed the de-

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 447-453. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 396, &c.

termined purpose of asserting independence. The Union, it appeared to them, could never be then restored on any footing, but that of complete subjugation. Doubtless they felt personally, that they themselves would be precipitated from the high place they at present occupied, and become ever after objects of suspicion, or even proscription. A general desire, accordingly, was now felt to carry out this measure in a decided form, before the expected military force, or the conciliatory commission, should arrive from Great Britain; yet great exertions are admitted to have been necessary, and much difficulty felt, in bringing the body of the people to this conclusion. The press was most actively employed through gazettes, newspapers, and pamphlets. The essay named Common Sense, by Thomas Paine, from its rough and homely shrewdness, was considered to have produced a very powerful effect on the multitude. As a preparative, congress authorized the immediate suppression of royal jurisdiction in all the colonies, and the formation of governments emanating from the people; while they met the prohibition against their trade by throwing it open to the whole world except Britain.

On the 22d April, the convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates to concur with the others in the establishment of independence. That of Virginia went farther, instructing theirs to propose it. Boston was now somewhat less forward, merely intimating, if congress should think it necessary, their willing concurrence. Thus supported, Mr Lee, a Virginian delegate, on the 7th June 1776, submitted a resolution for dissolving all connexion with Great Britain, and constituting the united colonies free and independent states. It was warmly debated from the 8th to the 10th, when it was carried, by a majority of one. As this was not a footing on which so mighty a change could be placed, the final decision was postponed till the 1st July; and during the interval, every possible engine was brought to act upon the dissentient colonies. The smaller states were threatened with exclusion from all the benefits and

protection which might be derived from the proposed union. As the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Maryland still refused their concurrence, conventions of the people were called, where majorities were at length obtained. Thus, on the 4th July, votes from all the colonies were procured in favour of the measure.

The declaration of independence, which had already been carefully prepared, was forthwith emitted. This document has been praised by the Americans and their advocates, not, we think, with very great reason. Instead of resting the contest on the simple and solid grounds on which it had all along stood, they enumerated a long list of grievances, including the exercise of the most undoubted rights of the crown; such as the veto, and the mode of calling and dissolving assemblies: while arbitrary taxation, and the alteration of the charters, occupied only a secondary place. All the obnoxious acts are personally imputed to the king, whose character is said to be "marked by every act that can define a tyrant;" though they were well aware that parliament had all along given its most full and cordial participation. Their jurists, admitting this imputation to be otherwise groundless, argue that, as they considered themselves never to have been under the authority of parliament, and connected with the monarch alone, they could regard him as the only responsible person. Finally, they solemnly published and declared, that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES," and entitled, as such, to carry on war, make peace, form alliances, regulate commerce, and discharge all other sovereign functions. This momentous deed was signed on the 2d August 1776, by all the members then present.*

* Pitkin, vol. i. pp. 346-352, 359-370. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 468-482.

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